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# AYRSHIRE

## Its History and Historic Families

BY

WILLIAM ROBERTSON

VOLUME II



KILMARNOCK

DUNLOP & DRENNAN, "STANDARD" OFFICE

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## INTRODUCTION.

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The story of the Historic Families of Ayrshire is one of exceptional interest, as well from the personal as from the county, as here and there from the national, standpoint. As one traces it along the centuries he realises, what it is sometimes difficult to do in a general historical survey, what sort of men they were who carried on the succession of events, and obtains many a glimpse into their own character that reveals their individuality and their idiosyncracies, as well as the motives that actuated and that animated them. Many of them lived in very trying as well as troublous times; in times when they had to balance considerations personal to themselves against the broader interests of State and the duty that they owed to the people. And on the whole a candid perusal of the record can hardly do anything else than satisfy the impartial mind that, according to their lights, they served their day and generation well.

The Author has by no means eschewed genealogy, but he has everywhere endeavoured to make it secondary to more important general considerations.





# HISTORY OF AYRSHIRE

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## CHAPTER I

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### THE KENNEDYS OF CASSILLIS AND CULZEAN

The genesis of the Kennedys is, in the most literal sense, wrapt in the mists of antiquity. There is little reason to doubt that their progenitors were to be found in Carrick, and in other parts of ancient Galloway, ere yet the northern migration of the Norman Earls and Barons had begun, and it is by no means a wholly unwarrantable supposition that they were of that ancient race, the Picts, part of the great Celtic family who were already established in Scotland when the Roman soldiers were in occupation of the country southward of the Caledonian line, who remained in actual possession of the land while the legionaries were but strangers in it, and who resumed government after their own fashion when the needs of the world-empire of the period recalled its soldiers from these western shores in the vain hope that they might be able to preserve the heart of the citadel. This, we say, is not by any means an unreasonable or a groundless supposition.

There were Earls in Carrick before those of Cassillis. Fergus, the Prince or Lord of Galloway, who died in 1161, had two sons, Uchtred and Gilbert. When William the Lion invaded Northumberland in 1174, they both followed in his train. Galloway broke into rebellion as the result of the complications that ensued on the monarch being taken prisoner, many loyal subjects were murdered, the King's officers were expelled, and Gilbert slew his brother, who had adhered to the King,

with circumstances of savage brutality. By means of a money payment, which was in many instances abundant compensation for life taken in Scotland for hundreds of years after the twelfth century, Gilbert succeeded in restoring himself to favour with the Sovereign ; but he does not seem to have ever been a very loyal or a tractable subject, for in 1184 he was, under the protection of England, making devastating raids upon Scotland, rejecting terms of accommodation offered to him. When he died in 1185 he was succeeded by Duncan, his son, afterwards Sir Duncan de Carrick, and later still the first Earl of Carrick, an honour into which he entered on condition of resigning his claim to the lordship of Galloway. After the manner of the times, Duncan fought furiously ; and, also after the custom of the period, he condoned for his sins by being good to the Church. It was he who granted the lands of Little Maybole to the monks of Melrose, and who founded and richly endowed the Abbey of Crossraguel. After him in the Earldom came Neil, who also was a great benefactor to the Church, and who was one of the Regents of Scotland and Guardians of Alexander III. and his Queen. By his wife, who is believed to have been a daughter of Walter, the High Steward of Scotland, he left four daughters, the oldest of whom, Marjorie, or Margaret, is the only one known to history. Marjorie first wedded Adam de Kilconceath, who in her right was third Earl of Carrick. In 1269 he went to the Holy Land to fight in the Crusade under the banners of Louis IX. of France, and the following year he died at Acre, in Palestine. The year afterwards the widowed Countess happened to encounter Robert Bruce, son of Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale and Cleveland, hunting in her domains, conveyed him with some violence to her home at Turnberry, and wedded him. The King, Alexander III., was angry, for she was a ward of the Crown, but a substantial money payment was sufficient to assuage the royal wrath, and the Earldom of Carrick passed away from the original family.

The Bruces were of Norman lineage. The young Lord of Annandale who became Earl of Carrick in right of his wife, who died in 1292, was one of the claimants for the Scottish Crown, and, refusing to do homage to Baliol, handed over the Earldom to his son (afterwards Robert I.), and retired for a while to Norway with his daughter Isabella, who is said to have afterwards married John Fitzmarmaduke. Returning to England in 1294, he was appointed Governor of the castle of Carlisle. Having sworn fealty to Edward in 1294, the same year he accompanied that monarch in his expedition to Scotland against Baliol. He died in 1304.

This Earl had a notable family. In addition to Robert and his only less famous brother Edward, there were Thomas and Alexander, both of whom were executed at Carlisle, 1306-7. The former had been taken prisoner by Sir Dougal M'Dowal at Lochryan; the latter was a learned man, and had been Dean of Glasgow. Sir Nigel defended the castle of Kildrummie for his brother until it was set on fire and he was compelled to surrender in September, 1306. He was taken to Berwick, and there executed. Next there was Isobel, who was married to Eric, King of Norway. Mary, the seventh child, was long a prisoner in Roxburgh Castle and at Newcastle. She was afterwards married to Sir Neil Campbell of Lochow, ancestor of the house of Argyll, and, after his death, to Alexander Fraser, Great Chamberlain of Scotland, and died about 1323. Christina came next. She shared her sister Mary's imprisonment, and the family courage, for she made a gallant defence of the Castle of Kildrummie against the Earl of Athole and the English party, till relieved by Sir Andrew Moray and Sir William Douglas of Liddesdale. Matilda married Hugh, Earl of Ross, and Margaret Sir William de Carlyle. When Robert the Bruce became King he passed the Earldom on to his brother Edward, who, after a successful campaign, was crowned King of Ireland, 1316, and was ultimately slain, two years later, by the English at the battle of

Dundalk. The Earldom passed to David, son of King Robert, and in 1329, the year after he ascended the throne, to Alexander, a son of Edward, who was slain at the battle of Halidon Hill, 1233. His widow was afterwards married no fewer than four times. With Alexander, the Earldom in the direct line of the Bruces ended. From them it passed to the Stewarts, and became one of the honours of the eldest son of the King, and from their day till now it has so remained, the Prince of Wales being also Earl of Carrick.

There are various tangible reasons for concluding that the Kennedys were directly connected with the Carrick and Galloway lords. They were associated with the Cumyns, the Justiciaries of Galloway, in which district Carrick lay, who first possessed the barony of Lenzie, which was afterwards held by the Kennedys. There was a notable similarity in their Christian names. John Kennedy of Dunure, who it is supposed may have been the first to have changed the name from Carrick to Kennedy, early in the fourteenth century, was *consanguineus regis*—of blood to the King—when Earl of Carrick, in all probability from some intermarriage of the two families. To the Kennedys was entrusted the high privilege of the keeping of the Castle of Lochdoon, and the leading of the men of Carrick; and it is well known that the old Celtic chieftainship could only go in the male line. The lands of Buchmonyn, in the Earldom of Lennox, belonged before 1300 to Sir Gilbert de Carrick, and, passing to the Kennedys, they were granted, in 1393, by Sir Gilbert Kennedy of Dunure to his cousin. To these proofs falls to be added the complete identity of the arms of Carrick and Kennedy. The name Kennedy, too, is clearly derived from Kenneth, a common name among both Pictish and Scottish Kings, signifying Chief. And the Kennedys appear as early as 1185 in Carrick and in Galloway, as well as in the Lennox; in which year Henry Kennedy was one of the leaders and instigators of rebellion in Galloway, and fell in battle on July 5, fighting against the men of Roland, Lord of

Galloway. Other persons of the name of Kennedy, whose precise connection is a little obscure, appear at early dates in the Carrick history.

It is not, however, until we come down to John Kennedy of Dunure that we have undoubted and unbroken proof of the lineage of the family of which the Marquis of Ailsa is now the chief. And here we take leave to say that our purpose is not genealogical; it is rather to tell the story of the family so far as that bears on the history of the succession of centuries through which it has lasted, and in which it has played so prominent a part, sometimes national, sometimes local.

In John Kennedy of Dunure the family had a strong send-off. He was of sufficient importance to have his son accepted as a hostage of King David II. in 1357. He acquired the lands of Cassillis from Marjorie Montgomerie, either by purchase or through marriage. He was steward of the Earldom of Carrick in 1367. He is believed to have been the John Kennedy of Glasgow diocese who, 1364-5, received letters from the Pope rehabilitating his children that they might hold Church benefices, they having been disqualified because he had caused a priest to be slain who had slandered him to the King. He acquired in 1370 one-half of the barony of Dalrymple from Adam Gilchrist, son of Adam Dalrymple; the same year he added to his estates lands in Kirkmichael parish; and in 1376 he obtained the second half of the Dalrymple barony from Hugh, son of Roland Dalrymple. He was present and did homage to King Robert II. at his accession, and when that monarch visited Ayr in 1372 he repeated to him the charter of the headship of the clan. Later, in 1381, he was confirmed in all lands and possessions acquired by him. He founded a chapel, near the parish church of Maybole, endowing a priest and three chaplains to celebrate Masses for himself, Mary, his wife, and their children, and later he erected the chapel into a Provostry, with endowments for a Provost, two prebendaries, and a clerk. When Parliament met in 1373 to settle the



succession in the Crown on the sons of Robert II., he was there. In 1385 he granted, with consent of his son, Gilbert, certain lands to the burgh of Ayr. He does not seem to have long survived that date.

His son, Sir Gilbert Kennedy, appears to have lived a comparatively quiet and uneventful life. His eldest son, James, married the Princess Mary, widow of George, first Earl of Angus, in 1405, and was killed in a quarrel with his illegitimate brother Gilbert, before November 8, 1408. His second son, Alexander Kennedy of Ardstinchar, was known by the soubriquet of Dalgour (The Dagger), and regarding him a curious story is told. The Earl of Wigtown, much troubled with his lawless ongoings, offered the forty merkland of Stewarton to the man who should bring in his head. When the Earl was worshipping in church, Alexander rode up at the head of a strong party of his followers, and not only claimed but actually received the reward; after which he took to horse and rode off. His other brothers, according to tradition, got tired of him, fearful lest he should usurp the whole property of the family, and they smothered him with feather beds. Sir Gilbert's third son, Hugh Kennedy of Ardstinchar, accompanied the Scottish troops to France under the Earl of Buchan, and served with distinction in different battles. He commanded the Scots contingent under Joan of Arc, and was present at the raising of the siege of Orleans in 1429, and elsewhere throughout the campaign of the Maid, and is believed to have been the Captain Kennedy who held the Queen of Sicily hostage at Tours (probably for arrears of pay), and plundered the surrounding country. He returned to his native land laden with money as well as honours, and was nicknamed in consequence "Come with the penny." Sir Gilbert had other three sons—John, who acquired the estate of Blairquhan, and other wide lands in Ayrshire, the Stewartry, and Wigtownshire; Thomas, from whom descended the Bargany branch of the family; and David, the ancestor of the Kennedys of Kirkmichael. Truly a notable family!

When James, Sir Gilbert's eldest son, died he left three sons, Sir John, Gilbert, and James. Sir John was one of the hostages for the redemption of James I., and he had a safe conduct to meet the King at Durham with horses and retainers. A mystery shrouds his later career. With the Earls of Douglas and Ross, he had, for some unknown cause, fallen under the displeasure of the King. Every offence that the two Earls had done was remitted, but Kennedy was kept in close custody in the castle of Stirling. From an entry in the Chamberlain Rolls, it is evident that he was alive in 1434, but from that year and onwards he is heard of no more. Gilbert succeeded his grandfather, and to him we shall return immediately. James, born 1405 or 1406, was consecrated Bishop of Dunkeld in 1438. He had no sooner taken office than he entered upon a career of reform. Great abuses had crept into the Church, which sorely exercised him; and he repaired to Florence, where he received authority from Pope Eugenius IV. to put a stop to them. While he was there the Bishopric of St. Andrews fell vacant, and he was translated thither. So effectually did he put in force the powers conferred on him by the Sovereign Pontiff that it has been recorded of him that "no man then living did remember to have seen the Church in such an estate." He was Chancellor of Scotland for a few months in 1444, and by a combination of influence, talent, probity, and political skill attained a position such as never before had been enjoyed by any Churchman in Scotland. When James II. died in 1460, the Queen Dowager used his tried wisdom and abilities in conducting the Government, and on her death the whole power of State, and the education of the young King were placed in his hands; but, unfortunately for both, he died in 1465. He founded the College of St. Salvator, St. Andrews, 1450, reserving to the house of Cassillis the right of presentation to ten prebendaries, or bursaries. One of the Earls of Cassillis subsequently acquired other four prebendaries from the College. By an Act of the Parliament of Scotland, July 22, 1644, it

was enacted that a Professorship of Humanity should be instituted in St. Salvator's College, and that these fourteen prebendaries should be assigned as part of the maintenance of the Professor. The patronage was vested in the Earl of Cassillis, and so continued till 1747, when the two Colleges of St. Salvator and St. Leonard were united; and, the Chair of Humanity in the former being suppressed, the right of presentation was transferred to the Chair of Civil History. The death of this distinguished prelate, whose virtues have been highly extolled by the historian, excited much public regret. It was at once a serious loss to the Church, of which he was an ornament, and to the nation which he had served so faithfully, and deprived the Crown of a safe and a much needed counsellor.

Gilbert, as we have said, succeeded to the headship of the family, and to the family honours. Between May, 1457, and March, 1458, he was created Lord Kennedy. In addition to high office in Carrick, he was appointed (1465) Keeper, and then (1466) Constable of Stirling Castle. He became involved, with the Boyds of Kilmarnock, in the capture of James III., 1466, but made a show of opposition, and, for the sake of appearances, submitted to a brief imprisonment in Stirling Castle; but he was wise enough not to permit himself to be involved in the fall of the Boyds in 1469. He frequently attended Parliament, his last appearance there being in March, 1478-79. By his first wife, a daughter of Lord Maxwell of Caerlaverock, he had six sons, of whom only one, and he the youngest, attained to eminence. This was Walter Kennedy of Glentig and parson of Douglas—the “greit Kennedie” of Gavin Douglas in his “Palace of Honour.” He is most famous for the poem in which he and Dunbar took part, called “The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy.” The poetry is perhaps less conspicuous than the mutual abuse in which they indulged and the boasting of their respective pedigrees. Kennedy describes himself as “the Kingis blude, his treu speciall clerk,” and as



“constand in mynd, in thoct, word, and werk.” Nevertheless, he seems, according to Dunbar, to have been a wild, boorish Celt—

“Ersch Katherane, with thy polk breig and rilling.”

In other words, an Irish cateran, with speckled bag, and rough shoes made of undressed hides. This allusion to the parson's footgear is interesting in so far as nearly two hundred years before this there was a Kennedy who was the Captain of the Clan “Muinntirr cas dubh” (people of the black feet), so called because, unlike other tribes, they wore the hairy side of their brogues outside. Walter is referred to in Dunbar's “Lament of the Makars,” written between 1505 and 1508, as lying verily at the point of death, but he seems to have recovered, he was still parson of Douglas in 1510, and it was not until 1518 that his son and namesake was infefted as his father's heir.

After the six sons came two daughters, one of whom, Katherine, married the grandson and heir to the first Lord Montgomerie; the other, Marion, who contracted to marry first into the Wallace family and then into the Boyds, but who does not seem to have fulfilled either contract. The succession to the first Lord Kennedy fell to John, the eldest son. This gentleman appears to have had a weakness for falling into arrears with his accounts, and to have spent a good deal of his time getting off fines imposed for some breach of the law or other. In 1497-98 he furnished a small ship for the King's service, which was known as Lord Kennedy's “pykkert.” He died about 1508, having been twice married; first to a daughter of Lord Montgomerie, and second to a daughter of the Earl of Erroll, by both of whom he had issue.

David, the third Lord Kennedy, was the eldest of nine children. His brother Alexander got a charter of the lands of Girvanmains from his father, 1481, and married Janet Stewart, Countess of Sutherland; and his son, Sir Hugh Kennedy of Girvanmains, was a

prominent person during the reign of Queen Mary. The Kennedys of Dunure and Dalquharran are descended from Sir Thomas Kennedy of Kirkhill, Provost of Edinburgh, and a descendant of Gilbert, third son of Alexander Kennedy of Bargany. He bought Girvanmains from the original family in 1694, and about the same period acquired Dunure from the seventh Earl of Cassillis. Kirkhill was sold by Thomas Francis Kennedy, Esq., of Dunure, in 1843, to Colonel Bartin.

In her day and station Lord Kennedy's sister Janet was famous in Scotland. She was a woman of great beauty, and had a romantic and a chequered career. In 1492 she was betrothed to Alexander Gordon, son and heir of John Gordon, of Lochinvar, and on July 17 of that year her father paid two hundred merks towards her tocher. Five years later the marriage was still uncompleted, although the bridegroom appears to have been quite ready to implement his part of the bargain. The following year she was contracted—according to herself, she was married—to Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, but she is nowhere designated the Countess of Angus. She is called Lady Bothwell. Under that name she had charters of various lands, including the lordship of Bothwell. About 1499 she became the mistress of King James IV., and her son by him, born the following year, was created by his father the Earl of Moray. The King settled on Lady Bothwell the splendid domain of Turnaway Castle, the principal residence of the old Earls of Moray previous to their forfeiture. In the grant of the property she is designated Jane Kennedy, Lady Bothwell, and she was to enjoy the gift “ als lang as she remayns but (without) husband or uther man, and dwellande in ye castle of Dernway, with ye King's son and hurris, James Stewart.” To this famous beauty the King was much attached. It is evident from the Treasurer's accounts for the period that he treated her generously. There is a charge for eight ells for “ small white, to be blankets and wylycottis for the bairn,” another charge for the day that the bairn

was baptised, and a third deals with money given to the King himself to play cards with the lady. Notwithstanding the monarch's affection for her, and his jealousy lest she should take to herself a "husband or other man," she seems to have infringed the condition before March of 1504-5, and in November of 1505 she is referred to in civil actions as spouse to Sir John Ramsay of Trarinzean, who had been created Lord Bothwell by James III. Before February, 1507-8, they had separated, and he had another wife. She founded a prebend in 1531 in the church of St. Mary-in-the-Fields, the celebrated Kirk of Field, where afterwards the unfortunate Darnley, the husband of Mary Queen of Scots, met his fate, for the welfare of Archibald Earl of Angus, her husband, who was, however, still alive twelve years later. In recalling this fair, and somewhat weak, daughter of the house of Kennedy, one must not forget the times in which she lived, and that social ongoings of that period must not be judged by the more severe, not to say the more enlightened, code of the present day.

It was David, the third Lord Kennedy, who was created, between October 22 and 24, 1509, the first Earl of Cassillis. Prior to that he had possessed the bailieship of Carrick for twenty years. The occasion of his elevation to the Earldom was that he had just married his second wife, Margaret Boyd, widow of Alexander, fourth Lord Forbes, and daughter of Thomas Boyd, Earl of Arran, a niece of James III., and a first cousin of James IV. Here, for the second time, the main line of the Kennedy family was intermixed with that of the royal family. Like a loyal Scot and true subject of the King, the Earl followed his royal master to Flodden, September 9, 1513, and fell fighting in the gallant ring that surrounded their Sovereign that day he fought his last fight; and it is said that when the tidings reached Carrick of the untimely fate that had befallen their Chief, the Kennedys mourned for him under the dule tree of Cassillis.

By his first wife, Agnes, a daughter of William, Lord Borthwick, the Earl had six children, four sons and two daughters. Of these the eldest was Gilbert, the second Earl. The second, William, was Abbot of Crossraguel, 1529-47. He is described as having been a good and a great Abbot. He was present no fewer than eight times at the National Parliament, and he was in addition a member of the Privy Council. For many years he was Commendator of the Abbey of Holywood, and was a close friend of Gavin Dunbar, the Archbishop of Glasgow, and of Henry, Bishop of Galloway. When his brother, the second Earl, was assassinated in 1527, he acted as tutor and guardian to the young Earl, his nephew, for eleven years. In 1530 he obtained a safeguard, or license, from the King to pass to France and other places beyond the seas on his pilgrimage to Rome, and he returned in time to attend the Parliament of 1532, which instituted the College of Justice. After the battle of Solway Moss, he was appointed a Commissioner for holding Parliament, and voted for Arran as Governor of the Kingdom. The insecurity of the times prompted Gavin Dunbar to have his treasures and personal effects deposited in the hands of the Abbot. The Archbishop's will demonstrates how much valuable property had been entrusted to his keeping ; richly embroidered vestments, gold and silver goblets, jewels of the rarest kind, a valuable library, and £4000 in money—these formed the nucleus of the Prelate's property. Whatever may have been the general morality of the period, and the unique views held under certain circumstances regarding the transfer of property, it is evident that there was one man in Carrick upon whom the Archbishop felt he could implicitly rely. The Abbot served his Monastery and his country well, and not a breath of scandal was raised against his name. And, as might have been expected, he was a good and a loyal Kennedy. He died before the end of the year 1547, for it was on the opening day of the next year that the Abbot Quintin was confirmed his successor in the Monastery. He had been the heir

to much valuable property, as well as the custodian of the wealth of his friends ; and no doubt before his death he had time to transfer no inconsiderable part of his property to the Earl of Cassillis.

It was in 1513 that Gilbert, the second Earl, succeeded his father. Three years later he was appointed Ambassador to England, and the same year, 1516, he succeeded, by favour of the King, in having Maybole erected into a free burgh of barony. He was one of the custodians of the young King James V., and in 1523 he had a salary of £150 paid to him for remaining with the King for three months. More than once he was made Ambassador ; on one occasion, in 1524, in conjunction with the Bishop of Dunkeld. Like other men of the period, he seems to have been involved in the feuds and broils that so harmfully distracted Scotland ; for he was tried, 1525, for the murder of Martin Kennedy of Lochland, and was only acquitted through the influence of his brother-in-law, the Earl of Argyll. Also, like other men of his position and time, he was engaged in the troubles that attended the monarchy ; and he had to answer for having conjoined in an unsuccessful attempt with the Earl of Lennox to rescue James V. from the Angus faction, and for having been present at the battle beside Linlithgow. The young King had been a strict prisoner in the hands of the Douglasses, who treated him kindly but kept close watch upon him day and night. Lennox raised a force of ten thousand men and advanced towards Edinburgh. Angus displayed the royal banner and took the King with him ; and succeeded in holding him prisoner for two years. For the part he took against the Douglasses, the lands of the Earl of Cassillis were forfeited and given to the Earl of Arran, but Arran does not seem to have taken possession of them. There were various occasions on which the Earl had to compound for the lawlessness of his clansmen. He lived, indeed, a somewhat stormy life, and in the end he died a violent death, for when he was at Prestwick, in September of 1527, possibly holding

a Court, he was set upon by a strong party of the Kyle feudalists, under Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudoun, Sheriff of Ayr, and assassinated. For this deed the Kennedys exacted a stern vengeance, which they swore a solemn oath to take under the dule tree. There is some reason to believe that it was in the pursuit of this revenge that they sacked and burned the tower of Achruglen, on the upper waters of the Irvine. For the murder of the Earl the Sheriff was outlawed, and Campbells, Craufurds, and other followers of the men from Loudounside were punished. The Sheriff, it seems, was a supporter of the Angus faction, and if this was so, the Earl's death may be laid to the account of the national troubles that then obtained.

By his wife the second Earl had either ten or eleven children. There is some doubt regarding a daughter, who became the wife of Fergus M'Dowall of Freugh. Passing by Gilbert, the third Earl, the most conspicuous member of the family was Quintin, the Abbot of Crossraguel; the same who debated with John Knox in Maybole for three days on the subject of the efficacy of the Mass. Educated at St. Andrews and at Paris, he was appointed by his uncle, the Abbot William, the Vicar of Girvan; from that he was promoted to the benefice of Penpont; and he succeeded his uncle in the abbacy of Crossraguel, to which his election was confirmed, January 1, 1547-48. He was thrice present in the Privy Council, 1548, after the battle of Pinkie, at which his brother Thomas was slain. But the Abbot Quintin was best known for his zeal for the old Catholic faith. He had all the advantages that position, learning, and high character could give him, and he championed the earlier faith in works that display considerable erudition and, considering the period, courage. When the battle waxed hot against the Church of Rome he did not shrink from its defence. With the Kennedy influence behind him he could afford to remain on the scene of his labours when others, less strongly supported than he, were fain to make good their going; and when Knox came to



Ayrshire, after the Reformation had been consummated, to confirm the churches, he found him still discoursing from the pulpit of the church of Kirkoswald—and that although he had been condemned by the first Assembly of the Reformed Church. Prior to that, in 1559, he had challenged Willock, the converted friar, to a disputation at Ayr, and had sent a whole cartload of books to the market place to overwhelm him. Willock was by no means lacking either in courage or in ability, but when the Abbot appeared upon the scene it was to find that the reformer had flown. Whereupon he nailed his protest to the Cross and took his departure. He died in 1564, but not by poison, as has been alleged.

Gilbert, the third Earl, born in 1515, and served heir to his father in 1538, was educated at St. Andrews. When he was but thirteen years of age he was compelled, very much against his will, to sign the sentence against Patrick Hamilton, who was burned there for heresy. He was a pupil of the famous George Buchanan, who held him in high esteem, and with whom he travelled on the Continent of Europe for some years. In addition to being an exceptionally shrewd and sharp business man where his own interests were involved, he was a man of affairs, and attended the Scottish Parliaments with considerable regularity from 1535 to the close of his life. He was one of the Scottish nobles taken prisoner at the rout of Solway Moss, November, 1542, and was committed to the custody of Archbishop Cranmer, who is said to have been the means of converting him to Protestantism. Set free on a bond for £1000, he returned to Scotland pledged to advance the cause of the King of England in his own country, and to join with others in trying to obtain possession of the young Scottish Queen. The real enemy of this arrangement was Cardinal Beaton, a prelate of extraordinary power and energy, and of boundless ambition; and he so prevailed with the Scots nobles that those who were in the service of England began to discuss the advisability of assassinating him. With this scheme

the Earl of Cassillis fell in, and made an offer to the King of England in that direction. Henry VIII. "did not mislike the offer," but, as time went on, the Earl's ardour towards assassination seems to have cooled down, and when finally the Cardinal was slain in 1546, it is not suggested that he had any hand in the deed. Like many another man of the time, Cassillis played a double part, alternating between the English and the Scottish factions. While he was thus engaged in the national affairs, he was taking good care of his own personal interests, both in Ayrshire and in Wigtownshire. He was appointed Lieutenant of the South in 1548; in 1550 he accompanied Mary of Lorraine to the French Court, and was made a Knight of the Order of St. Michael; in 1551-2 he was one of the Scots Commissioners for the settlement of the Debateable Land; in 1554 he was appointed Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, and held the position to his death; and in 1557, while he was strongly opposed to the making of a Scots invasion of England, he declared emphatically to Lord Westmoreland, one of the English Commissioners, that he would never be French, and that the Scots "would dye, every mother's sonne of us," rather than be subject to England.

In 1558 the Earl was one of the Scots Commissioners who were sent to France to negotiate Queen Mary's marriage with the Dauphin, and was one of the parties to the marriage contract at the Louvre. On the way home he was one of the Commissioners who met with a mysterious death at Dieppe. It is supposed that they were poisoned because they had refused to the Dauphin the right to wear the Crown Matrimonial of Scotland. This tragic event occurred in November, 1558. The Earl is described as "ane particular manne, and a werry greidy manne," and that he "cairritt nocht how he gatt land so that he could cum be the samin." His wife, a daughter of Alexander Kennedy of Bargany, had previously been married to William Wallace of Craigie.



The Earl had five children, three sons and two daughters. The third son was Sir Thomas Kennedy of Culzean, from whom the present family of Cassillis is descended. To him we shall return later on, when it will be necessary to go back to him to trace the direct genealogy now represented in the Marquis of Ailsa.

Gilbert, the fourth Earl, who was served heir to his father in 1562, had previously, as Master of Cassillis, sat in Parliament. He adhered to the Roman Catholic faith, and fought for the Queen of Scots at Langside. For that act his estates were declared forfeited, but he nevertheless remained "stubborn," and continued to write letters of devotion to her after she had taken refuge in England. From the Queen he received various letters. One of these we subjoin. It is dated from Carlisle, 20th May, 1568 :—

"Traist Cusing, Forasmeikle as I for the saltie of my bodie findand na suir access nor place within my realme to retire me at this tyme as ye may know, I was constraigned to leve the samin and to pas in this countrey of England, quhair I assuir yow I have been Richt weill Ressaut, and honorable accompaigned and traited I have deliberit to pas fortherward in France to pray the King my gude broder to support and help me to delyuer and Releue my Realme of sic Rebellionis, troublis and oppressionis that now raignis within the samin and to depart furth of this toun the xxiiii day of this Instant moneth. Thairfore I pray yow effectuouslie, traist cusing, that ye in the mene tyme hold yourself constant in my seruices and aduerteise your friends and neighbours to do the samin and be in readiness to serve me quhen the occatioun sall offer as ye have done treuly afoir this tyme, specially at the last battall quhair (as an aduerteist) ye have done Richt weill your deuoir, ye being on your featis, quhilk sall nocht be forgot be me in tyme coming. With the help of God, I houp to return agane about the xv day of August nixt with

gud company for the effect foresaid, God willing. This I believe ye will do as my traist is and was ay in yow. And for to mak an end of my bill I will commit yow to the protection of the eternall God. At Carlell, the xx day of Maij, 1568.

“MARIE R.”

On the back, but under the fold, is written this postscript—“I pray you my lord excuse this stamp because the quene has na uther at this tyme.” The wax used is red, but it is so defaced as to make it quite impossible to say what the seal has been.

The Earl held aloof from complete allegiance to the new Government until the spring of 1571, when he was forced by Lennox at the head of a large force to surrender and suffer imprisonment until August, when he joined the King's party, and his forfeiture was not carried out. When the Earl of Mar became Regent he continued loyal to the Government.

Gilbert, the fourth Earl, was the famous “King of Carrick,” the same who roasted the Commendator of Crossraguel, Alan Stewart of Cardonald, in the Black Vault of Dunure. While it is impossible in any way whatever to justify, or even to extenuate, this forceful and cruel deed, it is none the less highly probable that the very most has been made of it. In “The Scots Peerage,” Stewart is designated the “Abbot” of Crossraguel. Commendator or Abbot, it is evident, to begin with, that his incursion upon the revenues and the influence of the Abbey was an inroad upon the Earl's “Kingship” of Carrick which he could hardly have done otherwise than resent. Beyond that there is good reason for believing that Stewart was playing a double game, repudiating and altering the destination of writs and tacks made by his predecessor in favour of the Earl. Exasperated, the Earl resorted to extreme means to attain his end.

The story was told by the Commendator to the Privy Council in April, 1571. According to this, the

Earl of Cassillis, the Master of Cassillis, and their accomplices, came upon him in the wood of Crossraguel and conveyed him to the castle of Dunure, where they took his horse and his arms from him, and where they kept him prisoner. The Earl attempted to persuade him to sign away his rights in the Abbey, but he refused, and thereupon resort was had to sterner means. What these were is thus described :—

“ Wha then, after long boasting (bullying) and minassing of me caused me to be cariet be Johne Kennedie his baxter (baker), John M'Leir, his cuike, Alexander Richard, his pantriman, Alexander Eccles, and Sir William Tode (probably the Earl's domestic chaplain), to ane hous called the Black Voute of Dunure ; whair the tormentoris denudit me of all my claithes, perforce, except onlie my sark and doublet ; and then band baith my handis at the shaklebanes (wrists) with ane corde, as he did bayth my feet, and band my soilles betwixt an iron chimlay and a fyre ; and beand bound therto, could in no wayis steir nor move, but had almost inlaikit (died) through my crewell burning. And seeing na uther appearance to me but eather to condescend to his desyre, or else to continew in that torment while (until) I died, (I) tuke me to the longest lyfe and said I wald obey his desyre, albeit it was sore against my will. And for to be relevit of my said paine, subscrivit the forenamed Charter and Tack, whilk I never yit red, nor knew what therein was conteaned ; which beand done, the said Erle causit the said tormentouris of me sweir upon ane Byble, never to reveill any word of this my unmerciefull handling to ony person or persons.”

A week later the Earl returned in order to have the deeds ratified. This, according to his complaint, Stewart utterly refused to do, declaring that the Earl would get his life before he consented to any such thing. The fire was again applied as before.

“ And being in so grit paine as I truste never man was in with his life, I cried, ‘ Fye upon you ! Will ye ding whingaris (short swords) in me and put me (out) of this world ! Or elis put a barrell of poulder under me, rather nor to be demaned (used) in this unmercifull maner.’ The said Erle, hearing me cry, bade his servant Alexander Richard put ane serviat (a table napkin) in my throat, whilk he obeyed ; the samin being performed at xi. houris of the nyght ; wha then seing I was in danger of my lyfe, my flesh consumed and brunt to the bones, and that I would not condescend to thair purpose, I was releivet of that paine, whairthrow I will never be able nor weill in my lyfetye.”

The Commendator's signature, which is still in evidence, appears to have been penned with a firm, bold hand. Stewart was detained a prisoner in Dunure for three months, when he was released through the efforts of Thomas Kennedy of Bargany, who assembled an armed force and set him at liberty. As soon as he was free the Commendator hastened to revoke what he had done, and had the Earl cited to appear before the Privy Council, where he was compelled to find security to let the Commendator alone, and also for a sum of money due to his old preceptor, George Buchanan. In the end the Earl achieved his purpose by means less forceful than those of the Black Vault of Dunure. Alan Stewart had attempted to divert the Abbey lands from the Earl by granting a tack of them to James Stewart of Cardonald, to whom the Earl paid four thousand merks, receiving in return the charters of the Abbey. Later on he purchased the Abbey lands, and had them confirmed to him, 1575-6. The Earl did not long survive his acquisition of the property he had been so concerned to secure ; for, on December 12, 1576, he died, the result, it is said, of a fall from his horse.

This strenuous Kennedy appears also to have had a violent feud with the Gordons of Lochinvar regarding

the lauds of the Abbacy of Glenluce, which had been seized by the Gordons, whilst Lord Cassillis had been called by the Abbot to his assistance. In a curious MS. in the British Museum of the period appears this entry : " The Erle of Cassillis, called Kanethy, being with his friends of the same surname upon the west seas, in the countie of Carrik, a stewartrie and parcel of the shiredom of Ayre. There is of the same name in that countie, and descended of his house, sundrie lords and gentlemen, whereoff the principall is the Lord of Barganye and Blairquhoy, of little less living than the Erle himself. His chief houses be Cassillis and Dunnyre, 4 miles from the bridge of Doone. The people are mingled of speeches of Irish and English, not far distant from Carrichfergus in Ireland."

When the Earl died, 12th December, 1576, his elder son, and the heir to the Earldom, was eight years of age. His widow, a daughter of Lord Glamis, survived him, and wedded the first Marquess of Hamilton. In addition to the young Earl, he was survived by another son, Hew, a prominent fighter in the feuds of the period. It was he who covenanted, though without avail, to take the life of John Mure of Auchendrane. With his sister-in-law, the Countess of Cassillis, he was, May, 1603, beset by the Bargany faction in the farmhouse of Auchensoul, in the parish of Barr, which was burned over their heads. Compelled to surrender, they granted bonds to Bargany for a large sum of money on condition of receiving their liberty. These bonds were afterwards declared judicially null and void. Hew, who died before March, 1607, was married to a daughter of John M'Dowall of Garthland, and their eldest son, John, became sixth Earl of Cassillis.

The fifth Earl, John, was, as has been said, but eight years of age when he succeeded to his father. He happened upon one of the stormiest periods of the great Carrick feud; the period that witnessed the Kennedy family reft in twain and fighting the one party with the other, with all the rancour and bitterness of blood

relations. These were the days when, in his tower by the Doon, John Mure of Auchendrane sat plotting and scheming how he might break the ascendancy of Cassillis within the bailiary ; when Gilbert Kennedy of Bargany, "the bold Bargany," was slain in conflict with the forces of the Earl one winter day by the Brochloch Burn, not far from Maybole ; when Sir Thomas Kennedy of Culzean was assassinated by the Bargany factionaries as he was riding past the chapel of St. Leonard, in the outskirts of Ayr ; and when the lurid tragedy of Auchendrane slowly unfolded itself and ended its grim chapter in the execution of the Mures, father and son, in Edinburgh. Throughout it all the Earl held his own, and finally emerged triumphant from a long and a testing ordeal. That he was a man of action is evident from the way he disposed of the brother of the Laird of Stair, a cousin of Bargany, whom he captured near Girvan, conveyed to Craigneil Castle, on the Stinchar, granted an assize, and hanged the same evening from the yett of the keep. He had a short time previously joined with Bargany in a plot to take the Earl's life. The Earl was rash enough to become Treasurer of Scotland, a position that in those days invariably brought serious loss to its holders. His term of office extended over no more than a few weeks, and it involved him, it is said, in a loss of about forty thousand merks.

The Earl's wife, Jean, widow of Lord Maitland of Thirlstane, the Chancellor, "was much older than he was, but was wealthy." He wedded her against the advice of all his friends, and their domestic relations do not appear to have been entirely unchequered. For he so far forgot the proprieties on one occasion as to assault her in the very Privy Council Chamber itself, and drag her ignominiously forth from its sacred precincts. This untoward and undignified proceeding was in the course of a quarrel over a lease, and it involved him in confinement in Blackness, November, 1604, and in the condemnation of the King, and in his having to find £5000 security to keep the peace towards his spouse.



The lady, who died without issue by her marriage with the Earl, was some fourteen years her husband's senior. The Earl died in October, 1616, and the Earldom, as has been said, went to his nephew, John, the eldest son of his brother, the Master of Cassillis.

John, the sixth Earl, entered upon all the rights and privileges of his predecessors. It was in July, 1616, that he was served heir to his uncle in Dunure and other lands, and in 1623 he was appointed Keeper of Lochdoon. In 1629 he had a license for travelling abroad for five years in France, Germany, and the Netherlands, but he does not seem to have availed himself of it; and the same year he and the Earl of Wigton were charged with tumultuous convocation in the streets of Edinburgh. In 1630 he craved advice from the Council as to how to deal with certain gipsies in his capacity of bailie of Carrick; and it may have been that his association with the tradition of Johnny Faa and the Earl of Cassillis's Lady may have arisen from this incident, and from his subsequent dealing with the wanderers. In 1642 he had all his lands and baronies and offices united in one free Earldom, to be called Cassillis, and subsequently he executed an important deed, the main object of which seems to have been to secure the succession in the Kennedy family by every means in his power. He had early taken part in the national affairs, but in 1633 he entered upon them with fresh ardour.

The Earl was a man of strong and resolute character and of high and consistent principle. Strongly Presbyterian, he threw himself into the Covenanting cause with great vigour, and was one of the Scottish nobility who appended their names to the Solemn League and Covenant of 1638. He raised, and apparently commanded, a regiment when war finally broke out between Charles I. and the Scots. The regiment was present at Alford in 1645, when the Marquis of Montrose won a signal victory over the Covenanters, and when the slain on the Covenanting side were many; and at Kilsyth, in August of the same year, when again, the

“great Marquis” won a speedy victory over the Presbyterian forces. Besides being in regular attendance, between 1643 and 1649, on the Convention of Estates, he was, in 1643, one of the three Scottish representatives to the Westminster Assembly of Divines. He was Preses of the Court of Session during the trial of Sir Robert Spottiswoode in January, 1646, for being out in the rising with Montrose, and although he was politically hostile to Spottiswoode, he signed his death warrant with the greatest reluctance. In 1649 he was Justice-General of Scotland, and was one of the Commissioners sent to Holland to negotiate with the young King, Charles II. In 1657 he was one of those who were summoned to attend the Union Parliament; and he was, after Cromwell’s death, called to be present at the installation of his son Richard as Chief Magistrate, but refused to attend. When King Charles II. came to the throne, he refused to take the oath of allegiance until he should be satisfied with the attitude of the monarch towards the ecclesiastical interests of Scotland.

It was little wonder that Cassillis, stout Covenanter that he was, should have demanded something more substantial than the general promise of maintaining Presbytery. The Restoration had been followed by the desecration of Cromwell’s grave, of the tomb of his mother and of that of Admiral Blake, one of the best of the old English sea kings, by the public burning of the books of Milton and George Buchanan, by the erasure of the name of Alexander Henderson from his tombstone in the Greyfriars Churchyard, and by many other acts of a like vandal character. The High Commissioner, the Earl of Middleton, a soldier of fortune, and a man of immoral life, was ready to pander to the King in anything. The greater part of the Scottish nobility had been impoverished by the civil war, had lost their independence, and were ready to do the King’s pleasure. A new oath of allegiance had been devised—“I acknowledge my said Sovereign only supreme Governor of this Kingdom, over all persons, and in all causes.”



In all causes! It was little wonder if the Earl of Cassillis demanded some guarantee, and refused to take an oath that practically bereft him of his liberty. As a consequence he was deprived of all his public offices and declared unfit to hold any position of public trust. But he did not withdraw from his Presbyterianism any the more; on the contrary, he clung to it the harder. In 1662 he moved in Parliament to address the King in favour of his marrying a Protestant, but found only one supporter. This, it must be recognised, was in the circumstances a very bold act to do, for Scotland was at the time being ground under the heel of the monarchical and prelatic hierarchy, and the courageous deed might well have involved the Earl in grave personal consequences. The Earl, who died in 1668, is described by Bishop Burnet as a man of great virtue, and of good understanding, though affected and obstinately stiff in almost everything that he did. That may have been so—the Earl may have been obstinate—but he lived at a time when obstinate men were much needed in Scotland, and when obstinacy was very apt to be attributed to personal motives rather than to principle, and a strict resolve on the lines of duty. So sincere was he that he would suffer no man to take his words in any other sense than he meant them.

The Earl was twice married, first to Jean, daughter of the first Earl of Haddington, and, second, to Margaret, daughter of the Earl of Errol. Popular rumour, based on an old ballad, has it that it was the former of these two ladies that eloped with "Johnny Faa," the gipsy laddie. "The gypsies they came to my Lord Cassillis's yett," the ballad opens, "and O but they sang bonny," with the result that the "Ladie" came tripping down the stairs with all her maids before her, and fell a victim to their enchantments. The gipsy Chief bade her fly with him, and swore by the staff of his spear that her Lord should never come near her. At once she discarded her silk manteel and called for a plaidie, and announced her intention to travel the world over with her gipsy

laddie. They wandered high and wandered low, they came to a wan water, and she set in her white feet and waded, and carried the gipsy across. The Earl came home and asked for his lady, and one cried and another replied, "She is gone with the gipsy laddie." He called for his black horse, and rode after the gipsies, upon whom he came as they were camped by the wan water; and, carrying them back to the castle, he had his Countess shut up in Maybole Castle, and the gipsies, fifteen valiant men, hanged from the branches of the dule tree. As for the lady, she remained a prisoner in Maybole until the day that she died. Round the windows he had carved the heads of the gipsies to keep her in continual memory of the deed she had done; and she spent her spare time, which cannot have been small, sewing an elaborate tapestry wherein she was represented seated on horseback behind a gaily attired cavalier, and surrounded or followed by a band of horsemen.

Such is the story of the ballad. An attempt has been made to convert the gipsy into a Sir John Faa of Dunbar, an old sweetheart of the Countess, who had masqueraded as a gipsy in order to divert suspicion from his predatory intentions. But there is really no reason whatever for accepting either the tale of the ballad, or the explanation of the former sweetheart. By the middle of the seventeenth century the gipsies had fallen into entire disrepute in Scotland. A hundred years earlier they were not a little esteemed, and there is extant a letter under the Privy Seal, addressed to the Sheriffs of Scotland, including the Sheriff of Air, and the "baillies of Kyle, Carrik, and Cunynghame," in favour of "Johnny Faw, Lord and Erle of Little Egypt," requiring them to apprehend certain of his subjects who had run away from him, and to lend him their prisons, stocks, and fetters for their punishment. But in the days of the sixth Earl of Cassillis, the wanderers were the offscouring of all things, and were being punished, sometimes by hanging, sometimes by banish-

ment, sometimes by having their ears cropped. That the Countess could have eloped with a gipsy is therefore inconceivable; beyond that, the times were historical, and, if such a thing had taken place, the recorder would have laid hold upon it. As a matter of fact, however, there is indisputable proof that Lady Jean never was confined a prisoner in Maybole, that she lived on terms of the sincerest affection with her husband to the close of the chapter, and that when she did at last die, she was buried from Cassillis. "It hath pleased the Almighty to call my dear bedfellow from this valley of tears to her home (as she herself in her last hour so called it)"—so wrote the Earl to his brother Earl of Eglintoun, "Greysteel," when he bade him to the funeral. It may be added that Lady Jean left three daughters. One was married to Lord Dundonald; another, "in the last stage of antiquated virginity," conferred her hand upon the then youthful Gilbert Burnett, afterwards famous as the Bishop of Salisbury. The third died unmarried. The eldest son by this marriage, James, Lord Kennedy, predeceased his father.

When "the grave and solemn Earl," as he is called by Crawford in his "Officers of State," died, he was succeeded in the Earldom by his son, John, by his second wife, who was served heir to his father in 1666. He also was strong for the Covenanting cause. In 1678, when the persecution was at its height, he was required by the Government to collect all the arms within his bailiary, and to destroy the meeting houses, so that the outed Presbyterians should have no central rallying points. The latter he refused to do, but the people of Carrick themselves, in order to save his credit, destroyed their churches. This, however, did not prove sufficient atonement for the Earl's contumacy, and when the Highland Host was despatched into Ayrshire he was punished by having no fewer than fifteen hundred men quartered upon him. What this meant may be gathered from the account of the losses the Ayrshire parishes sustained "by quartering, robbing, and spoiling of the

soldiers and Highland Host." For Carrick alone the sum amounted to £31,677 Scots, a sum probably equal to the same amount in sterling money at the present day. The Earl, through a Duke—in all probability the Duke of Monmouth, though his name is not mentioned in Cassillis's letter—complained bitterly to the King of the wrong that had been done him. "There is a great body of men," he writes, "to the number of seven or eight thousand, the most part whereof are Highlanders, who are gathered together and brought into the West of Scotland, upon free quarter, whereby there is the greatest complaint of violence, rapine, and all manner of oppression, that ever was heard in the world; they are all now quartered in the shire of Ayr, where my small fortune for the most part is. All men of ingenuity, virtue, and discretion think it very strange that when there is no rebellion, or the least shadow of an insurrection, one part of the Kingdom should be let loose upon the other; but especially that a multitude of men should be brought into a civil country who have nothing to show that they are men but the external figure; differing in language, habit, and manners from all mankind." In another paper the Earl explained that he could not sign the bond, "conceiving, as the bond was founded on no law, so it was impossible for him to perform, and that such practice was contrary to the laws and customs of all other nations." He made a strong effort to bring his grievances under the notice of the Privy Council, and went to Edinburgh for that purpose, but had to leave the capital upon an order commanding the west country noblemen, heritors, and others to depart within three days, and reached home to find that he had been denounced at the Cross of Ayr and that letters had been issued for his apprehension. The Committee of Council, which included the Earl of Glencairn, made an attempt to reply to the Earl's complaints, but without any great success. Denounced a rebel, he went to London to appeal to the King. The Committee wrote asking that he should be sent down a

prisoner, but their request was refused, and no further proceedings were taken against him.

The losses that had accrued to the Earl through the persecution, combined with those that his father had sustained, chiefly during the brief period when the latter occupied the post of Treasurer for Scotland, so crippled his resources that he was compelled in 1674 to sell some of his lands in Ayrshire as well as his estates in Wigtownshire, which he did, through John Hamilton, Lord Bargany, to Sir John Dalrymple of Stair, for £93,712 6s 8d Scots, a sum equivalent to £7800 sterling. It was not, however, till 1681 that steps were taken to relieve him of the obligations under which his father had come in the public interest, and the debt transferred to the public account. At the Revolution the Earl took an active part in public affairs, and from 1689 onwards he was frequently engaged in Parliamentary and Treasury business. In 1695 he granted a lease to some Edinburgh and London merchants to work minerals on his estates, on a lordship of an eighth of the metals wrought. He attended to public business to the last, and was present in Parliament, January, 1701, six months before his death.

The seventh Earl was twice married—first, to Susan, the youngest daughter of James, first Duke of Hamilton, and, second, to Mary Fox, daughter of John Fox of Lincoln's Inn Fields. The latter became somewhat notorious in London society. In 1728 she was arrested at the instance of her milliner, to whom she was very largely indebted; and again, in 1745, for keeping a gaming house and resisting its suppression. As a result of her action in the latter affair, a resolution was passed by the House of Lords that it should be unlawful in such cases to claim the privilege of peerage against prosecution. This lady died the following year. The Earl's eldest son, John, Lord Kennedy, had predeceased his father, and when the seventh Earl died he was succeeded by his grandson, John, as eighth Earl of Cassillis.



The life of John, the eighth Earl of Cassillis, fell upon comparatively uneventful times, and there is nothing of any general interest to record regarding him. Born in 1700 he married in 1739 his cousin Susan, youngest daughter of the Earl of Selkirk and Ruglen, by Ann, daughter of the seventh Earl of Cassillis, and died in 1759 childless. The result was a contest for the title and estates between William, Earl of March and Ruglen, afterwards Duke of Queensberry, grandson and heir of Anne, Countess of Selkirk and Ruglen, daughter of the seventh Earl of Cassillis, and Sir Thomas Kennedy, a descendant of Sir Thomas Kennedy of Culzean, the second son of the third Earl of Cassillis, who claimed as heir male of the eighth Earl in terms of the entail executed by him. This deed the Earl of March contended the Earl had no right to execute. By a bare majority the Court of Session in 1760 held that he could lawfully make the settlement, and on appeal the House of Lords confirmed the judgment in 1762, finding "That the petitioner, Sir Thomas Kennedy, hath a right and title to the honour and dignity of the Earl of Cassillis, as heir male of the body of David, the first Earl of Cassillis, and that he hath also a right and title to the honour and dignity of Lord Kennedy, as heir male of the body of Gilbert, the first Lord Kennedy." Thomas, ninth Earl of Cassillis, who thus succeeded, was descended from Gilbert, the third Earl, whose second son was Sir Thomas Kennedy of Culzean. This Thomas Kennedy is said to have been taken a prisoner in the battle of Langside, fighting on behalf of Queen Mary. At the coronation of Queen Anne, 1590, he was raised to the rank of Knighthood. He is best known for the share he took in the great Carrick feud in the end of the sixteenth century and in the opening years of the seventeenth century. He had incurred the dangerous hostility of Mure of Auchendrane and the Kennedys of Bargany. Notwithstanding the fact that he was related to Auchendrane by marriage, the latter plotted his death, and in the early summer of 1602, while he was riding

towards Ayr, on his way to Edinburgh, he was set upon by the Bargany factionaries and cruelly done to death. Like many other men of the period, and like other participators in the feud, his actions do not seem to have been entirely straightforward throughout, but at such a lapse of time as this from the years through which the vendetta ran, it is somewhat difficult to understand the varied motives of those who took part in the quarrel, and vain to attempt absolutely to assess where the blame in every particular lay. He came by his wife in seemingly very lawless fashion. She was a daughter of David M'Gill, King's Advocate, and had been the wife of Robert Logan of Restalrig, afterwards implicated in the Gowrie Conspiracy. While as yet Logan was alive, and his wife was acting as housekeeper to her father, Kennedy came with an armed force and carried her off. About six weeks later, April 15th, 1579, the culprits appeared in Court. The lady declared that she had gone off with Culzean of her own free will, and he averred they were married. The inference would seem to be that a divorce had taken place between Logan and his wife, as she could not otherwise have wedded Kennedy while her former husband was yet alive.

Sir Thomas's eldest son died before his father, and unmarried, and he was succeeded by James, his second son, who, if tradition be correct, was the man who was mainly instrumental in bringing the Mures to justice. In 1622 he sold the estate of Culzean to his younger brother, Alexander, and acquired the estate of Blairquhan. There were three daughters of Sir Thomas. The one, Margaret, who afterwards married Patrick Agnew, of Lochnaw, the first Baronet, had a sharp experience of the feud, having been with her father in January, 1598, when the party was attacked by Auchendrane and others. The second, Helen, was the wife of the younger Mure, by whom she had issue. After her husband's execution she married John Fergusson of Kilkerran, by whom also she had issue. The third, Susanna, was married to Sir Patrick M'Kie of Larg. It

was Alexander who ultimately became the heir of his father. In addition to Culzean he acquired the barony of Greenan, and the lands of Baltersan, Mochrumhill, and Glenluce. It was from his second son, Alexander, called of Craigoch, and afterwards of Kilhenzie, that Archibald, the eleventh Earl of Cassillis, descended. John Kennedy of Culzean was served heir to his father in 1656, was a Commissioner for Ayrshire in Parliament, 1656, 1659, and 1661, and was a Justice of Peace for Ayrshire. His eldest son, John, died without issue, and he was succeeded by his second son, Archibald, 1672, who obtained a very unenviable reputation for his wanton and cruel persecution of the Covenanters.

This was the notorious "Sir Archibald the Wicked," whose death and burial, and whose conveyance to his ultimate destination after his soul had parted company with his body, have formed the theme of many weird Carrick legends. So zealous was he in the persecution of the "saints" that he was in 1682 created a Baronet of Nova Scotia, with destination to himself and heirs male of his body. But that did not ward off doom. The tales tell how he passed away from life in a raging fever that made his last hours very dreadful. He was given a great funeral. The gentry came from near and from far to accompany his remains to the College Churchyard of Maybole, but the Devil came also in the shape of a crow and lighted upon the bier. A terrible thunderstorm arose, and amid the elemental strife his corpse was borne away by fiends. And there was corroboration in the story of the brig Rover of Ayr whose skipper and boatswain, when they were cruising in the Mediterranean, beheld one of the most awesome sights that ever was witnessed by mortal eyes. They were under the lee of Sicily and within sight of Mount Etna, when there came hasting by a fiery chariot driven by the master fiend himself and accompanied by a troop of little devils. In reply to the bold hail of the skipper, Satan replied that he had come from Culzean, that he was bound for Hell, and that his cargo was the soul of



Sir Archibald Kennedy. And sure enough, even as the bold seamen beheld, the fiery horses made furiously for the slopes of the volcano, up which they dashed, and disappeared in the crater amid sulphurous flames and great roaring within.

One of Sir Archibald's daughters was the famous Susannah, Countess of Eglinton. Tradition has it that as the fair Susannah Kennedy was one day walking in the gardens at Culzean a hawk alighted on her shoulder, and on its bells was the name of Lord Eglinton. In an age of omens this was enough for the seers and the gossips; it was the coming event casting its shadow before. She realised the destiny indicated by the hawk, lived to be the mother of seven fair daughters and three sons, was accounted to be the most beautiful woman in Scotland, and not less mentally than physically endowed, and eventually died at Auchans at the ripe age of ninety-one. The patroness of literature, admired of Dr. Johnson, a lover of Nature animate and inanimate, and rich in traits of head and heart, the Countess played in her day a prominent part in the social life of Scotland.

To Sir Archibald succeeded his eldest son, Sir John Kennedy, who was served heir to his father, 12th March, 1711. By his wife, Jean, daughter of Captain Andrew Douglas of Mains, R.N., in Dumbartonshire, he had no fewer than twenty children—twelve sons and eight daughters—fourteen of whom died young and unmarried. On his death, 1742, he was succeeded as heir by his eldest son, John, who died within fifteen months of his succession and was succeeded by his brother, Sir Thomas, who, as has been already said, became the ninth Earl of Cassillis by the decision of the House of Lords. He added Newark to the ancestral domains, a fact which is thus announced by his Aunt Susannah, the Countess of Eglinton, in a letter to Mr. Murray of Abercairney, dated January, 1762:—"Sandy Crawford has sold Newark to Lord Cassillis. It is net 1500 merks, and has got 3800 pond for it. It has neither wood nor coall, and only a little old shell of a house. It lays indeed contiguous to

his lands of Greenan. Some say it is for Blair of Dunskie, and that he is to sell his lands in Galloway." The ninth Earl died unmarried at Culzean, 3rd November, 1775, and was succeeded by his brother David, the tenth Earl, who carried on the work begun by his brother of the building of the modern house of Culzean and the laying out of the gardens. In 1790 he executed a supplementary entail of the estates of Cassillis and Culzean in favour of himself and heirs male of his body, failing whom Captain Archibald Kennedy, late R.N., and late of New York. With the death of the tenth Earl the Baronetcy became extinct, and as he had died unmarried the Earldom passed to Captain Archibald Kennedy, grandson of Alexander Kennedy of Craigoach, the brother of John Kennedy of Kilhenzie, and son of Archibald Kennedy of Kilhenzie. This Archibald had gone to New York, according to one account in 1710, according to another in 1722, had acquired a large estate called Pavonia, near Hoboken, in New Jersey, and had died at New York, 14th June, 1763, aged seventy-eight. His eldest son, James, was killed in the expedition against Carthage; his second son, Robert, died unmarried, and it was his third son, Archibald, who became the eleventh Earl of Cassillis.

The eleventh Earl, prior to his return to the land of his fathers, if not of his own nativity, led a somewhat eventful life, and his career was not unchequered. As an officer in the Navy he distinguished himself in many brilliant actions. When he was on the Lisbon station in command of two men-of-war a convoy which he was conducting was attacked by two French vessels of superior size, and he not only beat them off but so crippled them that, when they reached Brest and were examined, they were found to be unfit for further service. His own ship was the "Flamborough." For this action he was presented by the English merchants with a handsome piece of plate, which remains one of the heirlooms of Culzean. Before June, 1765, by which time he had succeeded to his father's estate of Pavonia,

he married Katherine Schuyler, daughter of Peter Schuyler, New Jersey. So large was the estate, and so valuable, which this lady brought with her, that Lieut.-Governor Colden declared in 1765 that he possessed more houses in New York than any other man. When his wife died she left him no children, but bequeathed to him her property. He wedded again in 1769, a year after her death. His second wife, a cousin of his first wife, was Ann Watts, the daughter of John Watts of New York by a sister of Governor de Lancy. The Watts were sprung from an old Scottish family, the Watts of Rosehill, Edinburgh; the lady's ancestry, on her mother's side, included some of the oldest families in the State of New York, such as the Nicholsons, and the Van Rensselaars, descendants of the old Patroon Van Rensselaar. Captain Kennedy was stationed at Boston in command of H.M.S. "Coventry," when trouble was brewing between the States and the mother country. It seems as if his mind had been somewhat distracted between sympathy for the rights of the Americans and his duty to the Crown; and when the famous stamps arrived for the putting in operation of the stamp tax, by which it was sought to compel the American Colonies to bear a part of the burdens entailed in the keeping of a regular army in their country—a policy which they resented on the ground that it was not fair to force them to pay for the actions of an assembly three thousand miles away and in whose election they had no choice—he refused the request of the Lieutenant-Governor to take them on board of his ship. This was regarded as an act of sympathy with the insurgents, and Captain Kennedy was removed from his command and went to reside on his estate at Pavonia. Here he did all he could to avoid raising further suspicion in the minds of the British authorities, and succeeded so well that the Americans bade him leave New York and retire to his estate in Sussex County. This he did cheerfully. It may be questioned, however, whether he was equally cheerful when, on his return a few months later, he found

that his house at Pavonia had been burned by the mob and his papers destroyed, and that the Government had confiscated half of his property. His town house, No. 1 Broadway at the Battery, had been appropriated for the residence of George Washington. None of his property was restored, as it ought to have been according to the terms of peace ; but he appears to have taken his loss philosophically—a state of mind probably largely induced by the knowledge that he was to enter upon the Earldom of Cassillis. Early in 1790, having made arrangements for the disposal of his property in America, he returned to this country. On the death of the tenth Earl in 1792 he succeeded as eleventh Earl, and was served heir in March of the year following. He died December 30, 1794, and was succeeded by his son, Archibald, the first Marquess of Ailsa.

The Marquisate, as we have said, was conferred on Archibald, twelfth Earl of Cassillis, who was born February, 1770, and served heir to his father, 1795. He came over from America at the same time as his father. In 1790 he raised an Independent Company of Foot, and was Lieut.-Colonel of the West Lowland Fencibles. He was a Representative Peer of Scotland, 1796-1806. On 12th November, 1806, he was created Baron Ailsa of Ailsa, and on 10th September, 1831, he was raised to the further dignity of Marquess of Ailsa of the Isle of Ailsa, in the county of Ayr, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom. He was Knight of the Order of the Thistle, 17th July, 1821. He was a great friend of King William IV., whose natural daughter his second son, John, married. His wife, Margaret, was the second daughter and eventually heiress of John Erskine of Dun, in Forfarshire, and by her he had a family of two sons and four daughters. The first Marquess died 8th September, 1846. He was predeceased by his elder son, Archibald, Earl of Cassillis, who was in his day well known as a great sportsman and walker, a famous shot, and a good rider. To these accomplishments he unfortunately added a weakness for gambling, and dissipated his own and his

wife's fortune. His wife, to whom he was wedded in 1814, was the daughter and heiress of Alexander Allardice of Dunottar. She bore him eight sons and one daughter. John, the Marquess's second son, who took the name of Erskine as heir to the estate of Dun, married, as has been said, Lady Augusta Fitzclarence, the natural daughter of King William IV., by Mrs. Jordan. This famous Irishwoman, who was born in 1762, made her debut in London as an actress in 1785. In a few days, it has been said, she bewitched the town. The benches, formerly empty on the nights when Mrs. Siddons was not playing, were filled, and her joyous laugh captivated all hearts. In 1790 she began her connection with the Duke of Clarence, afterwards William IV., and it lasted till 1811, when it was suddenly broken off. In 1831 King William raised her eldest son to the peerage as Earl of Munster, and gave the other Fitz-Clarences the rank and precedence of the younger sons and daughters of a Marquess. Lady Augusta survived her husband, who died in 1831, by thirty-four years.

On the death of the first Marquess in 1846, he was succeeded by his grandson, Archibald, who was born 25th August, 1816, and who died, the result of an accident in the hunting field, 20th March, 1870. He was Lord-Lieutenant of Ayrshire. He served in the Rifle Brigade and 17th Lancers, and was created Knight of the Thistle, 7th March, 1859. He married 10th November, 1846, Julia, second daughter of Sir Richard Mounteney Jephson, Bart., who died January, 1899. The memory of the second Marquess is yet fresh to the older generation of the people of Ayrshire. The writer recalls him as a man of great force and independence of character; an Ayrshire man in the best sense, judged by the pride and affection he had for his own county and the practical interest that he took in its affairs: plainly outspoken on all matters on which he had made up his mind; keenly solicitous for the weal of the large number of persons of whom he had the overlordship; recognised as the chief

of a great clan and the head of a famous house ; of outstanding character and worthy of the respect in which he was universally held. His family consisted of three sons and three daughters. On his death he was succeeded by

Archibald, the present Peer, third Marquess of Ailsa, and fourteenth Earl of Cassillis, born 1st September, 1847. He was a Lieutenant of the Coldstream Guards, and a Captain in the Army. He is a Deputy-Lieutenant for Ayrshire, and hon. Commander Royal Naval Reserve. He was also Lieutenant commanding Clyde Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers. By his first wife, Evelyn, third daughter of Charles, twelfth and last Lord Blantyre, to whom he was married in 1871, and who died in 1888, he had three sons and two daughters ; and by his second wife, Isabella, daughter of the late Hugh MacMaster, Esq., of Kasani, North West Provinces, India, he has a son and daughter. His eldest son, Archibald, Earl of Cassillis, born May, 22, 1872 was Captain in the 3rd Battalion Royal Scots Fusiliers ; served in South Africa, 1900-2, and has two medals and five clasps ; is an Advocate, and a Deputy-Lieutenant for Ayrshire. On 30th April, 1903, he married Frances Emily, third daughter of Sir Mark Stewart, Bart., of Southwick, Kirkcudbright, and Ardwell, Wigtownshire, late M.P. for the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. It would obviously be premature to say more of the present Marquess than that in addition to wearing worthily the honours that have descended to him from a long line of ancestors, he has shown himself in many and diverse directions, in the fullest sympathy with the spirit of the age ; and that, in addition to the respect due to his high rank, he has earned also the respect that is due to unblemished character, and the faithful and considerate discharge of his many duties.

The insignia of the family are thus described :—

ARMS.—Argent, a chevron gules between three cross crosslets fitchée sable, within a double tressure flory counterflory of the second.



CREST.--A dolphin naiant proper.

SUPPORTERS.—Two swans proper, beaked and membered gules.

MOTTO.—*Avise la fin.*

The history of the Kennedys which we have thus outlined is in many respects of great interest. It is a reproduction in miniature of a great deal that has made the evolution of the centuries notable. There were Kennedys engaged when Scotland was working out the achievement of her independence in the fourteenth century. There was a Kennedy fighting under the banner of Joan of Arc, when she raised the siege of Orleans. It was a Kennedy who founded and endowed the College of St. Salvator's in St. Andrews. It was a Kennedy, who took part with Dunbar in the famous "Flyting" which constitutes one of the treasures of the early Scottish "Makars." There were Kennedys in close touch with the Stuarts during the long and stormy period of the Scottish crown when it was worn by a race that was identified with many ups and downs, and that may be said to have cast aside the sovereignty of the United Kingdom because it could not recognise that the people as well as their monarchs had their rights. There were Kennedys at Flodden, and they came back no more to the plains and the shores of their own Carrick. There was a Kennedy who "did richt weill his devoir" when the might of Queen Mary was broken on the field of Langside. There was a Kennedy who tried his best to stem the rushing torrent of the first Reformation, and who disputed manfully with the greatest of the Reformers when he came west to confirm the churches. There were Kennedys who were in the forefront of the second Reformation struggle; one who sat in the Westminster Assembly, another who suffered sore for his adherence to Presbytery, a third who attempted to stem the tide of Reformation zeal and fervour and to stay the Conventicles that were the rallying points of the Reformers. All through the feudal period Kennedys rode, and fought, and struggled for,



and maintained their ascendancy in the south-west. There was a Kennedy involved in America's War of Independence. There have been Kennedys who were in high office in Scotland, who fought in the Army, who sailed the seas and gave good account of themselves, who were statesmen and ambassadors, and envoys and ecclesiastics. Their fortunes have by no means been unchequered, but they remain to this hour in a descent unbroken since the days when Dunure and Cassillis were in their primal strength and when everything Scottish was on the anvil. Many an Ayrshire family has passed and gone since they emerged into prominence and began their struggle for survival—a struggle, their story demonstrates, for which they have proved themselves supremely fit. And, strong as ever, they remain to this day.

## CHAPTER II

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### THE MONTGOMERIES OF EGLINTON

To get to the origin of the Montgomeries one requires to go a long way back—further back than the days of the eleventh century, when William Duke of Normandy appeared at Pevensey to claim the throne of England as next of kin to Edward the Confessor, appealing to the promise of the great Confessor himself, and broke the might of the Saxon monarchy at the battle of Senlac, near Hastings. Among the Norman nobles who accompanied him was Roger de Montgomerie, afterwards Earl of Shrewsbury.

There was, between 1000 and 1050, a Roger de Montgomerie, who preceded him. The family even then, there is little reason to doubt, was old, but this Roger is the first who comes within the range of authentic history. In addition to the Earl of Shrewsbury he had four other sons. Two of them, William and Hugh, made war on their neighbours in Normandy, and caused much bloodshed. The third was accidentally poisoned, 1063, by his sister-in-law Mabel, the countess of his brother Roger; he died in the flower of his age, and distinguished for his chivalrous gallantry. To his paternal estates Roger had added, by his marriage, the earldoms of Belesme and Alencon, and was one of the wealthiest and most influential of all the Norman nobility. He entered with great zeal into the expedition of the Conqueror, to whom he was allied by marriage,

equipped no fewer than sixty ships for the conveyance of the troops, and greatly contributed to the success of the expedition by his general superintendence of the preliminary operations. He was left in charge of Normandy when William crossed over, and it was not until two years later that he accompanied the great Norman to England. His services were munificently rewarded. He was granted the castle of Arundel in the city of Chichester. He was created Earl of Shrewsbury. His lands embraced nearly the whole of Shropshire, and in ten or twelve other counties he had given to him upwards of an hundred and fifty lordships, or manors. He held high court. He was designated in regal style—Roger, by the grace of God, Earl of Shrewsbury. He attempted to conquer Wales, gained the castle and town of Baldwyn in Powis, and annexed to himself the district which still bears the name of Montgomery. He founded and made grants to abbeys ; and to one of these, that of Shrewsbury, in 1094, when he felt his end to be approaching, he retired, assumed the habit of a monk, and after three days spent with the brethren in pious discourse and in prayer, died on the 27th of July, and was buried with great honour between the two altars. He is described by a contemporary historian as “ wise, moderate, and just, and ever ready to extend his patronage to wise and unassuming men.”

His first wife, Mabel, Countess of Belesme and Alencon, is represented as a woman of great cruelty, oppressive to her neighbours, and the cause of ruin to many ; and she is said to have been killed as she lay in her bed by one who suffered at her hands, and who, bent on revenge, forced his way into her chamber. A Norman knight, William Pantoul, was charged with being accessory to her death. He sought refuge in a convent, and his estates were seized by the Earl. At Rouen an opportunity was given him to prove his innocence by the ordeal of fire ; and it is said that he purged himself of the charge by carrying, unscathed, a red hot iron in his naked hand.

The eldest son of the first Earl of Shrewsbury lived a stormy and eventful life. Succeeding his mother in her Norman honours and estates in 1082, he forthwith began a turbulent career that kept Normandy in a condition of civil war for years. Duke Robert imprisoned him in 1088, but by the influence of his father he was released. Two years later he took up arms again, and resumed his old courses, but in 1091, when William Rufus visited Normandy, he disbanded the forces of the rival barons. He does not, however, seem to have reduced the proud spirit of Montgomerie, who remained constantly at war with his neighbours. On his father's death in England the English estates passed to Hugh, the second son. The Welsh called him "Hugh Goch," because he was red-headed. He took part in the civil wars that arose over the succession between the sons of William the Conqueror; and when William Rufus prevailed, he pardoned him, on payment of a fine of £3000. He did not long survive. In 1103, when Magnus, King of Norway, appeared as an invader off the coast of Anglesey, Earl Hugh was very active in resisting his landing. He rode into the sea to encounter the foe, and was shot with an arrow in the eye, and his body carried out by the ebbing tide. Seventeen days later it was recovered, taken to Shrewsbury, and buried beside that of his father with great lamentation. His vassals deeply sorrowed for his death. A Norse saga thus tells how he died :—

On the armour arrows rattle,  
Where our Norse King stands in battle;  
From the helmets blood streams flow,  
Where our Norse King draws his bow;  
His bowstring twangs—its biting wail  
Rattles against the ring-linked mail;  
Up in the land, in deadly strife,  
Our Norse King took Lord Hugo's life.

The death of Earl Hugh was followed by the accession of his turbulent brother Robert from Normandy. From the first he was a dangerous subject, and broke out in

open rebellion. King Henry resolved to put him down. He besieged him in his castle of Arundel, which he ultimately surrendered on being allowed to depart into Normandy; the which he did, "boiling with rage and overwhelmed with grief." Still experience had not taught him wisdom. He recommenced his tyrannies, set Henry of England, Duke of Normandy, at defiance, was arrested and imprisoned, first in Cherbourg and afterwards in the castle of Warham in Norfolk, where he was kept in such strict and secluded confinement that none could tell the day of his death. This famous man is described as having been of a subtle genius, deceitful, wily, and a fluent speaker; in person stout, and of great strength; intrepid and formidable in war; cruel and avaricious; skilled in engineering; full of resource in difficult affairs; capable of undergoing the greatest personal fatigue. The third son of Earl Roger, Roger de Poietou, became Earl of Lancaster, but lost his possessions because of his having taken part with his brother in the defence of Arundel Castle, and retired to Normandy. The fourth son was Arnulph, Earl of Pembroke, who married, in 1101, Princess Ilafracoth, the daughter of Murtach O'Brien, King of Munster. From this marriage the Scottish Montgomeries claim to be descended. King Murtach, conceiving a deadly hatred against the Normans, carried off his daughter, and pursued Arnulph, her husband, with such unrelenting hostility that he fled to Normandy, where he lived for twenty years without having any fixed place of residence. In his old age he married again and expired at the wedding feast, leaving, says the historian, "the guests to listen to funeral dirges instead of to an epithalamium." Earl Roger had a fifth son, Philip, who was called the Clerk, or Grammarian, a proof that he was a man of scholarly tastes. He could fight, however, as well as read and write, for, in the first Crusade of 1096, he slew a Moslem champion in single combat. Roger and Mabel had four daughters. When Mabel was slain, the Earl wedded a second time. His wife was of the

highest French nobility, was wise, pious, and kind to the poor. Her only son, Everard, was a scholar, and chaplain, first to King William, and then to King Henry.

In this somewhat hasty narrative of the early Montgomeries we catch glimpses of the rock whence they were hewn. To begin with, they were a strong, assertive, determined race; how far they have borne out these characteristics in their from seven to eight hundred years' sojourn on Scottish soil the subsequent history of the family will tell. Here it may be mentioned that there are no fewer than forty-four ways of spelling the family name. It began, in the year 1000, with Montgommerie. In 1170 it was Mundegunibri and Mundegumri. From that it changed in 1362 to Mundegumry, Mundgunry, Mungumbry, Mowngumery, and Montegonibrri—obviously a case of the scholars or recorders spelling phonetically and each to suit his own taste and fancy. With 1407 it happened upon Montgomery, which is for nearly every practical purpose, so far as sound goes, the name as we have it to-day. Some of the signatures intervening are an interesting proof of the phonographic independence of the signatories, or the recorders. Thus, in 1471, we have Montegomori, in 1483 Mwntgumry, in 1488 Mungumbri, in 1509 Muntogumberye, in 1498 Mungumbrij, and in 1562 Mwmgwumry and Mwmgwumrie.

When the Cunninghames burned Eglinton Castle in the sixteenth century they also destroyed the muniments, and with them possibly the chain of chronological evidence that led up to the connection of the family with the Princess Lafracoth, the daughter of the King of Munster. It appears to be indisputable that to Arnulph, son of the first Earl, and the Princess were born a family. One of the sons in process of time became the founder of the Carew family, being created Baron of Carew and changing the family name to Carew. In England they were closely connected with Walter the Stewart, and when Walter came to Scotland he was accompanied by Robert de Mundegumbri, a brother of



Arnulph, who received from him large possessions soon after his arrival in this country ; and it is beyond doubt that he was the first Montgomerie of Eaglesham, in Renfrewshire, when, between 1165 and 1173, he witnessed the endowment charter of the monastery of Paisley granted by Walter, the High Steward.

Here, then, we have the first Montgomeries in the West of Scotland, where they have been ever since. Eaglesham is said to have been conferred on Robert by Walter as the dowry of his daughter Marjory, whom Robert espoused as his first wife. Robert died about the year 1178 and was succeeded by his elder son Alan, who in turn was succeeded by his son John about 1200. By his marriage with Helen, one of the daughters of Robert de Kent of Innerwick, in East Lothian, he added to his lands a third part of the estate of Innerwick ; and, like other men of his station and of the period, he enriched the abbot and the monks of Kelso with grants from his East Lothian property. Following him came Sir Alan (1220-1234) ; Sir Robert (1234-1260) ; and Sir John, the sixth of Eaglesham, who succeeded about 1260 and died about 1285. Sir John's third son was Alan, of Stair and Cassillis, and he had two sons, the elder of whom succeeded to Cassillis, the younger to Stair, and whose daughter, Marjory, joined in a charter of sale of the lands of Cassillis (to which she had become heir and successor) to John Kennedy before 1363. Nineteen years after that date she sold Stair to Malcolm, son of Fergus of Carrick. There is reason to believe that this Marjory became the wife of John Kennedy. Sir John, the seventh of Eaglesham (1285-1357) played a prominent part in the troubles that preceded the conquest of the Scottish Crown by Bruce. Like other men of his time, and like Bruce himself, he swore fealty to Edward I. of England, but when Bruce raised the standard of independence he immediately responded to the call of his country. His son and successor, Alexander (1357-1380), was a man of high capacity, of honour and integrity. He was one of the Scottish Commissioners



who in 1358 went to Berwick to negotiate terms with the English Commissioners for the release of David II. Later he went to the Continent with an armed retinue, probably to indulge a love of adventure or to gain military experience and glory as a soldier of fortune. After him came Sir John, the ninth of Eaglesham (1380-1398). With his son Hugh he highly distinguished himself at the battle of Otterburn. He it was who captured Sir Henry Percy, better known as Hotspur, with his own hands and obliged him, by way of ransom, to build for him the castle of Polnoon, long the chief residence of the Eaglesham barony. His wife, Elizabeth, the daughter and sole heiress of Sir Hugh Eglinton of that ilk, brought him the rich baronies of Eglinton and Ardrossan.

The Eglintouns, or de Eglintouns, were an ancient and distinguished family. They were in possession of the estate of Eglinton as early as the days of Malcolm Canmore, in the eleventh century. Eglin, the lord of that period, passed on the heritage and the honours of the family to his son Bryce, he to his son Hugh, he to his son Rodolphus (who in 1205 regranted to Irvine certain lands which had been originally gifted to the village in the days of his grandfather), he to Rudolph, and he to Sir Hugh de Eglintoun. This is "the gude Schir Hew of Eglyntoun" referred to by Dunbar in his "Lament for the Death of the Makars." Winton also in his Chronicle speaks of him as "Hucheon of the Awle Ryall," or Hugh of the Royal Court. There is none of his poetry known to be extant, but he is accredited the author of the "Gest of Arthure," the "Gest of the Brute," the "Adventures of Sir Gawyn," and the "Pystil of Swete Susan;" and Winton speaks of him as a man "who was cunning in literature, curious in his style, eloquent, and subtle, and who clothed his composition in appropriate metre, so as always to raise delyte and pleasure." His wife, Egedia Stewart, was a half-sister of Robert II. He died in 1377, and was survived by an only daughter, Elizabeth, who, as we

have seen, married Sir John Montgomerie of Eaglesham, and brought the Eglinton estates into the Montgomerie family.

This lady was also heiress of the barony of Ardrossan. The Ardrossans of that ilk are believed to have been a branch of the ancient family of Barclay. Of their history comparatively little is recorded, and what has been handed down, and is authentic, is not of much general interest. When they first appear on the records it is in the person of Arthur de Ardrossan, who was witness to a charter executed in the latter end of the twelfth century or very early in the thirteenth. Sir Fergus, probably his son, is mentioned in a cause between Sir Godfrey of Ross and the town of Irvine in 1260. After him came Godfrey, who swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296; after him Fergus, and his brother Robinus, who recognised the suzerainty of Edward on the fall of Stirling Castle, 1304; after Fergus came Hugh, who in 1305 had to pay a fine of three years' rental of his estate imposed by the English King, no doubt because he had taken part in the movement for the independence of his country; after him another Fergus, who received a charter of his lands from Robert the Bruce; and after him Godfrey, who lived in the days of David II., and who is the last traceable male of the family of Ardrossan. The castle of Ardrossan was a place of great strength. When Oliver Cromwell was building his fort at Ayr he had the stones taken, as many of them as were needed, to Ayr by sea and used in the work, Timothy Pont, writing about 1608, speaks of the castle as strongly and well built, having many rooms, and possessed of a spring of fresh water, which rendered it doubly strong for purposes of defence. Wallace once, according to Pont, took the castle by strategy. He set a house close by on fire, and when the English soldiers came out to extinguish the flames he "gave them a very hot welcome, killed every mother's son, and forthwith forced the castle and won it." Into the vault he threw the carcasses of the Southrons, and thereafter it was known as the

Wallace Larder. The fountain was said to ebb and flow with the tide, twice in the twenty-four hours, "with horrible repercussions."

It was, as we have seen, Sir John, the ninth of Eaglesham, who thus added Eglinton and Ardrossan to the Montgomerie possessions. Dying in 1398 he was succeeded by his son Sir John (1398-1429), who is described in the charters as "Knight, lord of Ardrossan." In 1402 he fought under Archibald, Earl of Douglas, and was captured in the rout of Homildon Hill. He does not seem to have been long detained captive, for in 1404 he was again in Scotland, and introduced to the Court of his Sovereign, Robert III., the reputed Richard II. of England, who, according to the story, had escaped from Pontefract, and, travelling in disguise, had found his way to the Outer Hebrides. Here he was recognised by a lady who had known him in Ireland, and given in charge to "the Lord of Montgowmery," who took him to Court, where he was received with great honour. He lived in the palace within Stirling Castle, and, dying nineteen years after his escape from England, was buried with the name, state, and honours of that unfortunate monarch, Richard II. Sir John was a highly chivalrous man. When Archibald, Earl of Douglas, was a prisoner in England in 1405 he obtained a safe conduct to treat for the ransom of his old commander, but was unsuccessful. He made a second attempt the following year, and in 1408 he was accepted as a hostage for Douglas. He was back in Scotland in 1412, and the year following was living at home at Polnoon. In 1423 he was one of the hostages sent to England for the ransom of James I. His yearly income is set down at 700 merks, apparently a large sum for the period, for the incomes of the other hostages, the Earl of Strathern, the Earl of Angus, and Lord Gordon, are stated respectively at 500, 600, and 400 merks each. Sir John again returned immediately, and the following year he was one of the great barons placed under arrest by James I. With

other six of these barons he was appointed a jurymen on the trial of the Duke of Albany and his sons, 1425. From the hands of the elder Duke James had suffered many things, eighteen years' imprisonment in England among them. That Duke, however, was dead, but his son lived, and upon him and his sons fell the vengeance of the poet King, and they died on the scaffold at Stirling. It is believed that the policy of putting men like Sir John Montgomerie on the jury was due to the monarch's anxiety to withdraw their sympathies from the Albany faction, with which they had been allied. In the case of Sir John it appears to have succeeded, for shortly after the execution he was sent to reduce the fortress on Loch Lomond, which was held by Sir John Stewart, Albany's youngest son. He died in 1429, and was succeeded by Alexander, the first Lord Montgomerie.

Alexander, first Lord Montgomerie (1429-1470), succeeded his father, 1429. As a member of Privy Council, as a Commissioner to England to arrange a truce at Durham, and as one of the nobles who in 1445 affixed their seals to the instrument passed by Parliament against the lords who had rebelled against James II., he earned the thanks of his Sovereign, and was made a Lord of Parliament with the title of Lord Montgomerie. In addition to this honour, he received more substantial awards in the shape of many valuable grants of public lands. By his wife, Margaret, a daughter of Sir Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock, he had a family of four sons and three daughters. His eldest son, Alexander, Master of Montgomerie, died in 1452, during his father's lifetime, and it was his son, also Alexander, who succeeded to his grandfather. The second son, George, was the ancestor of the Montgomeries of Skelmorlie. The third is designated in a proclamation at Irvine, John de Montgomerie of Giffen. The fourth, Thomas, was parson of Eaglesham. Of the daughters, Margaret married John Stewart of Darnley, afterwards Lord Darnley, and then Earl of Lennox, the ancestor of James VI. and of the subsequent Sovereigns of Great

Britain; Elizabeth was wedded to John, second Lord Kennedy, and was the mother of David, the first Earl of Cassillis, who fell at Flodden; and Agnes was the wife of William Cunninghame of Glengarnock. The second Lord Montgomerie succeeded his grandfather about 1470. Regarding him very little is recorded of public interest. He died before 29th August, 1483, and was succeeded by his son, Hugh, who became first Earl of Eglintoun.

Hugh, who was born about the year 1460, espoused the cause of the nobles of Scotland against James III., and fought for the young Prince in the battle of Sauchieburn, which resulted disastrously to the cause of the Sovereign, and in escaping from which the unfortunate monarch was assassinated; and in return for the services which he then rendered, he received a remission for destroying and despoiling the house of Kerelaw, and for all other crimes and offences committed by him before the 29th of August preceding. Having thus identified himself with the cause of James IV., he was held in high favour by the King, was a member of that Sovereign's first Parliament, 1488, and was appointed one of the commissioners to punish offenders and to put down the crimes of theft, robbery, and murder, in the districts of Carrick, Kyle, Ayr, and Cuninghame. From the Crown he received grants of land in Arran and Bute, and the castle of Brodick, and a charter of the offices of Bailie of Cuninghame and Chamberlain of Irvine. He was created Earl of Eglinton in the year 1506. When James IV. fell at Flodden in 1513, he at once transferred his loyalty to his son, then an infant of eighteen months old, and was one of the tutors of the royal child. He acted as Justice General of the northern districts of Scotland, and was one of the nobles who met James V. at Stirling when he escaped from Douglas at Falkland.

In the days of the first Earl there were stormy times and exciting moments in the North Ayrshire feud. As early as 1448 the Bailiership of Cuninghame had been conferred on the head of the house of Montgomerie by



the Crown, and this step had been hotly resented by Cunninghame, the lord of Kilmaurs. Steps had been taken to bring about a condition of peace between the rival factions. Lord Kilmaurs had been compelled to find security for his followers keeping the peace; an influential Commission had pronounced a decret finding that the Earl of Eglinton had full and heritable right to the Bailiership; and in 1523, at the instance of the Regent Albany, a wedding had been arranged between representatives of the two houses in the hope that it might tend towards their pacification. But the sore rankled. Kerelaw had been burned, and its burning had to be avenged. The Master of Glencairn mustered his men and marched upon Eglinton. The Earl was not prepared to receive them, and had to seek refuge in the stronghold of Ardrossan, and they descended upon the castle of Eglinton, on the banks of the Lugton, and consigned it to the flames. It was a serious burning for the Montgomeries that. In their strong room were their charters, their deeds, papers that carried their history back to the times of the Norman Conquest, and that, once gone, could never be replaced. Eglinton and Ardrossan muniments were doubtless stored there as well. But the fires that cracked and rove the masonry, that brought the ceilings down and the roof on top of them, and that searched every nook and cranny of the castle, made short work of the records. It was vain to search for them when the embers had grown cold. They were gone, never to be replaced. There were many more serious incidents in the feud than this, but, from the historian's point of view, none more disastrous. Contemporaneous with the feud with Glencairn were other troubles of a similar character. Thus, early in the sixteenth century, there was conflict between John Mure of Caldwell and Sir John Maxwell of Nether Pollock, and the life of the latter would have been sacrificed to the vengeance of Mure but for the timely intervention of the Earl of Eglinton. "With great instance and supplication," he secured the release

of Maxwell and his servant and conveyed them to his house of Ardrossan for their safety from the "masterful tyranny" of the laird of Caldwell.

The Earl was one of the Governors of Scotland when the King set out for France to bring home his bride, the Princess Magdalene. He was also Admiral-Depute within the bounds of Cuninghame. Born in the last year of the reign of James II., he closed a long, laborious, and useful life in the third year of Queen Mary, at the age of eighty-four, having thus lived in the days of five Scottish Sovereigns. By his marriage with Lady Helen Campbell, third daughter of Colin, first Earl of Argyle, he had a family of six sons and eight daughters. His eldest son, John, Master of Montgomerie, who predeceased him, was an active participant in the North Ayrshire feud. In one encounter he wounded William Cunninghame, the Coroner of Renfrew; in another he was himself wounded by the Cunninghames in a skirmish in which lives were lost; and, again, he chastised the Cunninghames and "hurt" William of Craighs. In 1520 he was killed in a "Cleanse the Causey" conflict in the High Street of Edinburgh, leaving three sons and a daughter. Of the Earl's other sons, one, Sir Neil Montgomerie of Lainshaw, was killed in a feud by the Lord Boyd at Irvine in 1547, and another, Hugh, was slain the same year at the battle of Pinkie. Hugh, the second Earl of Eglinton (1545-1546) had, before his accession, occupied positions of distinction and of responsibility. He was there with his grandfather to meet James V. at Stirling when he made his escape from the Douglas at Falkland. He was also one of the Justiciars of Scotland. When he was married to Mairota Seytoun, he obtained in 1530 a dispensation from Pope Clement VII., because she was within the third degree of consanguinity to him. When he died, September, 1546, he was buried in the choir of the monastery of Kilwinning. His eldest son was under sixteen years of age at the time. Sir Neil Montgomerie of Lainshaw appears to have acted a somewhat high-



handed part. He constituted himself head of the house of Montgomerie, and assumed command of the vassals and dependents. This step was resented by the Countess, and arrangements were come to for bringing the enforced tutorship to a close when the young Earl should be sixteen years of age. The following year Sir Neil was assassinated by Robert Lord Boyd, and in the summer of 1547 the Countess was put on her trial at the High Court of Justiciary for being art and part in his slaughter, but was acquitted. The Countess, who died before 10th April, 1562, had two sons and three daughters.

It was a highly interesting and eventful life that was led by Hugh, the third Earl (1546-1585). When in 1561 the Archbishop of St. Andrews went over to France to bring Queen Mary home to Scotland, the Earl went with him. It was in connection with this homecoming that Elizabeth of England first showed those symptoms of jealousy of the Scots Queen that were destined in the end to have such disastrous results for Mary. The pretensions of the latter to the Crown of England were by no means ill-founded. The Catholic party in that country were convinced that they were better than those of their Queen, and many others who were not of the Catholic faith held the same view. Mary, however, was a Catholic, and therein she was a source of danger in their eyes. They would not again suffer the Romish ascendancy, and at all costs they were minded to keep Mary out. Elizabeth herself was almost morbidly jealous of the possibilities that Mary's pretensions to the English throne opened out to her; and, with a view to making assurance sure, she caused to be prepared a treaty binding Mary in all time to come to abstain from using the titles or from bearing the arms either of England or of Ireland. Mary resolutely refused to ratify the treaty. Elizabeth's inordinate vanity, too, prompted her to pit her own personal charms against those of the Queen of Scots, but she had none the less enough wisdom to know in her heart that Mary eclipsed her in the

comparison ; and there is no reason to doubt that she conceived the idea of catching Mary on her way north, and taking her a prisoner. When Mary asked not only for a safe conduct through the English seas, but also for leave to shelter in an English port in the event of stress of weather, she refused it, and sent out vessels in the hope of intercepting the little bark that was bearing Scotland's Queen to her own dominions.

The Earl of Eglinton was not in the same vessel with the Queen. In a fog, that in which Mary sailed escaped, but the convoy was taken and carried into port. That was not what Elizabeth wanted, and the ship was not detained, and Eglinton and the others reached Leith very shortly after their royal mistress. The Earl's attachment to the Queen was sincere. He held fast by her during the troubles that preceded and that followed her accession to the throne, and that were occasioned by her marriage with Darnley. When Bothwell, after Darnley's death, sought to coerce a powerful party of his friends and supporters to pledge themselves to support him in his designs upon the Queen, Eglinton succeeded in making his escape from the tavern in Edinburgh in which they were met, and thus avoided lending his name and influence to the unprincipled ambition of the aspirant to the hand of the Queen. So dissatisfied was he with the union of Bothwell with the Queen that he formed one of a party to take the young Prince James from their power. But for all that, he still attached himself to the fortunes of the Queen. When she escaped from Lochleven Castle in 1568, he was one of the first of the nobility to join her standard, and he fought in her cause the same year at Langside, and remained true to her even after the wreck of her fortunes on that disastrous field. Soon afterwards he went over to the King's party, obtaining with the Earls of Argyle and Cassillis, and Lord Boyd, a remission for past rebellion. On the subsequent temporary success of the friends of the Queen he fell into their hands as a prisoner ; but neither his services to the King, nor his

sufferings, were of any avail in securing for him the gratitude of the monarch. James had by that time fallen under the influence of the Earl of Lennox, and Captain James Stewart of Ochiltree, whom he had created Earl of Arran. This ascendancy was so dangerous for Scotland that a number of powerful nobles, Eglinton, Glencairn, Mar, and Gowrie among them, resolved to rescue the Sovereign from the hands of his favourites, even if necessary by force; and this they did by means of the Raid of Ruthven. Of the remaining three years of the Earl's life little is recorded. He died in the summer of 1585.

The Earl was twice married. His first wife was a daughter of the Earl of Arran. Their union, arranged by their parents according to the custom of the period, was an unhappy one; and it suited the Earl apparently to remember that he stood towards his wife in the fourth degree of consanguinity. On this ground he made application for a divorce. The lady retaliated on other grounds. But though they were both applying for divorce, neither would give the other any facilities for obtaining it. The Countess went to reside with her father at Hamilton and sought to avoid the execution of the summons, and the Earl, with a like intent, fled to France. The union, however, was dissolved by John Knox and other members of the Church, in Edinburgh, in 1562. The lady, who before her first marriage had been betrothed to Gilbert, Master of Cassillis, wedded David Dundas of Priestisinch, and the Earl took to wife Agnes, daughter of Sir John Drummond of Inchpeffrey, and widow of Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudoun. Again the bridegroom and the bride were within the prohibited degree, but this time absolution was obtained from the Archbishop of St. Andrews. By the second marriage there were four children, two sons and two daughters. Lady Margaret, the elder of the two daughters, married Robert, first Earl of Wintoun, Lord Seton, and their third son succeeded to the Earldom of Eglinton on the death of the fifth Earl. Margaret's

charms formed a theme for the muse of her kinsman, Alexander Montgomery, the author of "The Cherrie and the Slae"—

Quhose nobil birth, and royal bluid  
 Her better nature dois exceid,  
 Her native giftes, and graces gud,  
 Sua bonteouslie declair indeid  
 As waill, and wit of womanheid,  
 That sa with vertew dois confeit.  
 Happie is he that sal posseid  
 In marriage this Margareit.

On the death of the third Earl in June, 1585, he was succeeded by his elder son, Hugh, the fourth Earl (1585-1586). Born in 1563, he only survived his father about ten months, falling a victim to the feud in a manner described in "The Historie of King James the Sext." We have taken the liberty, without interfering with the sequence of the text, somewhat to modernise the language :—

"Cunninghame of Robertland took the enterprise in hand, which he accomplished in this manner. Two years before his treasonable attempt, he insinuated himself in familiarity and all dutiful service to the young Earl, whereby he so moved him to take pleasure without any suspicion that he acquired such favour at his hand that neither the gold, money, horses, armour, clothes, counsel, nor voyage was hid from him, that this same Robertland was made a participant of them all even as if they had been his own; and, besides all this, the confidence and favour that the Earl showed to him was so great that he preferred him to his own bedfellow. Hereat Lord Hugo, auld Earl of Eglinton, took great suspicion and therefore admonished his son in a fatherly manner to beware of such society, which without doubt would turn to his skaith; for he knew well the nature of these Cunninghames to be subtle and false, and therefore willed him to give them no trust, but to avoid their company altogether, even as he loved his own life, or would

deserve his fatherly blessing. To this counsel the son gave little regard, but that was to his pains ; and the domestic enemy was so crafty indeed that he would attempt nothing during the life of the father, for many respects. But within short time thereafter, as the noble Earl was passing a short way in pastime, accompanied with a very few of his household servants, and ill-horsed himself, Robertland, accompanied with sixty armed men, came running furiously against him upon horseback, and the Earl, fearing the thing that followed, spurred his horse to have fled away. His servants all fled another way from their master, and he was left alone. The horsemen all ran on him, and unmercifully killed him with shots of guns and strokes of swords. The complaint of this odious murder being made to the King, he caused the malefactors to be charged to a trial. But they all fled beyond sea. Robertland, who was the first that made the invasion, passed to Denmark, where he remained at Court till the King came to Queen Anne. And because none of the rest could be apprehended, the King ordained their houses to be rendered to the Earl's brother, to be used at his arbitrament, either to be demolished or otherwise ; and he swore the great oath that he should never pardon any of them that had committed that odious murder. Yet, how soon his Majesty was arrived in Denmark, his (Robertland's) pardon was demanded of the Queen for the first petition, and the same was obtained, and he was received in grace there, in presence of them all. Thereafter he came home in the Queen's company, and remains as one of her Majesty's master stablers."

This is not the generally accepted account of this odious deed. According to that, the Earl was killed at the Annick ford, near Stewarton, when he was on his way to Court, then being held at Stirling, under circumstances involving the direct complicity of the wife of Montgomerie of Lainshaw, who is said to have been a

Cunninghame, a daughter of the house of Aiket, and at whose table the Earl had a very short time before partaken of a midday meal. In revenge the Montgomeries mustered in force to the standard of the Master of Eglinton, raided the Cunninghame country, "and in the heat of their resentment," says the manuscript history of the Eglinton family, "killed every Cunninghame, without distinction, that they could come by, or even so much as met with on the highways, or living peaceably in their own houses." Sir Robert Montgomerie of Skelmorlie, on the same authority, shot dead the Commendator of Kilwinning, Alexander Cunninghame of Montgreenan, the Earl of Glencairn's brother, at his own gate. Cunninghame of Aiket was killed near his own house, and Cunninghame of Clonbeith was cut to pieces in a house, in which he had taken refuge, in Hamilton. The other leading accessories to the deed fled the country and remained abroad until passions had cooled down.

This unfortunate fourth Earl, a nobleman of great hope and promise, had been twice married; first, when he was but fourteen, to Egidia, daughter of Robert, fourth Lord Boyd, with whom he started to keep house when he was about seventeen; and then to Helen, a daughter of Thomas Kennedy of Bargany. By his first wife he had an only son, Hugh, fifth Earl of Eglinton.

Hugh, fifth Earl (1586-1612), was but a child when his father was slain in the feud, and great interest was manifested in him by King James VI. So much was this so that the Sovereign made arrangements in 1598, when he was but twelve years of age, to have him betrothed to a relative of his own; but the lady in question, Gabriela Stewart, sister-german to the Duke of Lennox, elected to lead a life of celibacy, and became a nun at Glattony, in France. The King did his best also to compose the feud, "the auldest fead has bene of thame all," and in 1606 Lord Balmerino wrote to the monarch to say that a submission had been entered into to arrange the differences between the rival



families. The Earl, who was the first to acquire the monastery of Kilwinning, married his cousin-german, Margaret, eldest daughter and heiress of Robert Montgomerie of Giffen, Master of Eglinton. Giffen had three daughters. He was supremely anxious that his estates should remain in the Montgomerie family, and specially, if possible, with the Chief, and accordingly in the contract of marriage it was stipulated that if Margaret refused the union, or died before it was effected, the Earl should have her sister Agnes, and whom failing, his daughter Izabel. Margaret, however, complied, and accordingly became Countess of Eglinton. But unfortunately the union was not a happy one. The Countess forsook her husband, and he found himself compelled to take judicial proceedings against her contracting debts, &c. The Earl laid the onus of the separation upon the Countess. For years they "continued in mutual amity, love, and friendship," but "of late" Dame Margaret, "neglecting that duty presumed by the law of God, and established by the laws of this realm," had withdrawn herself from his society and company. After their marriage the Earl had infefted his wife in his whole lands, and this infeftment he revoked. This deed of revocation is an interesting document --

'The Earl, considering, and gravely calling to mind, how that God of His mercie, bringing him to that worldly preferment and dignity, in honouring him to be one of the first of the nobility, yet not respecting his own estate so circumspectly as his rank required, was most craftily seducit and indirectly circumvened and induced, after the solemnisation of the marriage between him and Dame Margaret Montgomerie, his spouse, upon too great affection and preposterous love on his part, to make and grant to her an heritable right of the lordship of Eglinton. And the Earl seeing . . . that the Countess, since the making of the gifts in her favour, neglecting the duty and obedience that a wife owes to her



husband, has diverted herself from his society and company, thereby manifesting and uttering her disloyal and false heart, to her great dishonour and shame. For these reasons revokes the gifts which he had made in favour of his undutiful Countess."

The Earl survived the revocation four years. He died on 4th September, 1612, and with him ended the direct male line of the Montgomeries, Earls of Eglinton.

It had previously been arranged that the third son of the Countess of Winton, a daughter of the house of Montgomerie, who was the nearest heir of Hugh, fifth Earl of Eglinton, should be the successor to the Earldom. Thus passed the Earldom to the house of Seton. Sir Alexander Seton, the sixth Earl, accordingly took the name of Montgomerie, and was infeft on the 30th of October, 1612. His family and friends at once acknowledged him as Earl, but King James challenged the transference on the ground that it had been effected without the royal sanction, and a controversy followed, at the opening of which the Earl was insistent on his rights, and in which, for a time, the King was obdurate on the other side. By letters of 21st January, 1615, addressed to the Secretary of State and the Lord Advocate, the monarch demanded "a sufficient resignation of the said stile and dignity, signed with his (the Earl's) hand." By the 27th of February the required demission was in the King's hand, but he does not seem to have been willing to sanction Eglinton's use of the family honours, and he accordingly instructed his advisers "to advise before you give the infeftment out of your hands if anything be to be added to the said demission whereby to make it every way sufficient in law." The same day King James issued another order setting forth that he had no dislike of the gentleman, whose family had by their service deserved all favours from their Sovereign, "but that he and all others by him might know that we, being the only author and fountain of all dignity in our dominions, no means could

promote any subject thereunto but our gracious and free gift, according to his desert, inducing us of certain knowledge and proper motive to confer the same upon him." But, seeing that Sir Alexander had placed his submission in his hands, his Majesty "caused expedite a new infeftment to him of the said living and dignity, whereby the world may know that nothing but our royal bounty maketh him to enjoy that dignity; wherefore he may be the further obliged by his service to give us such proofs of thankfulness and loyalty as so high a favour doth deserve." Still a third document was issued the same day by the royal power, emphasising the graciousness of the favour, and instructing that the infeftment should be delivered to the Earl in presence of six members of Council "to show unto him how gracious a Sovereign he serveth, who so easily could be moved to pardon an offence so highly touching his prerogative." Whatever may be thought of the King's insistence, it is certain that the infeftment could not have been placed in worthier hands. For nearly half-a-century the sixth Earl occupied a high position in the councils of State, and by his wisdom, his courage, and the loftiness and purity of his life, wrote his name broadly upon the scroll of the Eglinton family.

But the Earl's troubles with the Court were not yet at an end. Besides interference with his right to the title, he had been deprived of the recently erected lordship of Kilwinning, which had been conferred, 1612, on Sir Michael Balfour of Burleigh. This was more than the Earl could stand. Having remonstrated in vain, he went straight to the Earl of Somerset, the King's chief favourite, and demanded his rights. He told Somerset plainly that he was but little skilled in the subtleties of law, or the niceties of Court etiquette but that he knew the use of his sword. It was from this incident, and from his general readiness on sufficient occasion to appeal to his sword, that he acquired the name of "Greysteel," a soubriquet by which he is still remembered. In the end he won his way, and had his

right to all his lands, lordships, baronies, &c., confirmed to him in the year 1615. That same year the King wrote to him "a maist gracious and princelie letter," receiving him into the royal favour, and the Earl responded in a letter couched in those flattering terms that were so appreciated by the royal Solomon. "As your Highness's royal wisdom and admirable dexterity in taking away all divisions, and reconciling all deadly feuds betwixt your subjects in this Kingdom, and great providence to maintain all peace, amity, and concord in this estate, is commended by the whole world, among your Majesty's innumerable virtues, and will be praised by all ages to come and all posterity; so for my own part shall I ever study, endeavour myself to maintain, advance and nourish that your Highness so worthily and so godly designs, and shall apply to the same to my uttermost power, in all that I may understand to be your princely will and pleasure, of whose only bountifulness and liberal disposition I acknowledge to have my whole estate, being, honours, and dignities."

The year following the King granted a permit to the Earl to hunt in the west country that throws an interesting light upon the sporting rights of the period, and the monarch's desire to let the hares have fair play in the manner of their capture. "Wee are well pleased," so runs the permit, "thus far to yealde to your desire, as yee may with long-winged haukes, hauke and kill all sortes of foules; absteyning onlie frome partridges and moore-foules, and hunte hares with raches (dogs pursuing by scent), giving them faire play, not hunting them with greyhoundes; and persuading ourselfe that yee wolde use your pastime no otherwise, although wee had made no restraynte, wee bid yow farewell."

The Earl continued in favour with the King during the remainder of his reign; and when, in 1617, he was in Scotland, he visited Lord Eglinton at his house in Glasgow. In 1619, writing to the Countess, apparently from Court, he says the King "has bein very seik, and in grit danger, of ane grit swelling in his laig, and he

heim self apprehendit daith ; but praisit be God, he is convalescit and weill agen." When James died in 1625, the Earl transferred his allegiance to Charles I., carried the spurs at his coronation in Edinburgh in 1633, and the sword of State at the riding of Parliament. It was unfortunate for Charles, and still more unfortunate for the people of Scotland, that he entertained most arrogant conceptions of the Divine right that attached itself to his position. His usurpation of the rights of his subjects led to a rupture with the dominant party in Scotland, and Greysteel, who was as zealous for the cause of the people as he was in the maintenance of his own rights, took the side of the Presbyterians. When they subscribed the Covenant in 1638 in the churchyard of Greyfriars in Edinburgh, he put his name to that historic document, as also did several other members of the Montgomerie family. He was invited by certain members of the Presbytery of Glasgow to be present at the meeting of Presbytery held for the appointment of Commissioners to the General Assembly of the same year. In soliciting his presence, they placed it on record that "no nobleman has given fairer proofs of courage and zeal in this great cause than your lordship has given." His vote nevertheless was disallowed by the Presbytery, and he entered his protest against their finding. Baillie notices the proposal to elect the Earl ruling elder for Glasgow, and says he was entreated to be present at the election with many kind, courteous, and pressing words. "Before this he goes very evil in health, for they did all press him."

The bigotry and persistence of Charles, which were destined in the end to prove his undoing, led him to attempt to reduce the Scots to subjection by force of arms. In the army of the Covenant that was led by the veteran Alexander Leslie, a soldier trained under the famous Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden in the Thirty Years' War, Greysteel, accompanied by his eldest son, led a large body of men. When he left Ayrshire for the scene of conflict, "he came away," according to Baillie,

“with the whole country at his back.” When the armies met near Kelso in 1639, the English Royalists fled at the first onset, with a loss of about 300 men. From Kelso the Scots retired to Dunse Law, where Charles found them so strongly encamped that he was fain to come to terms with them. A treaty was accordingly signed, which the King almost immediately resolved to break, and began preparations for a second invasion of Scotland. The Scots anticipated his movements, marched into England, and defeated the royal army at Newburn, 1640, which they followed up by wresting another treaty of peace from the King the same year.

Between that time and 1642, when the armies of the Covenant and of the Parliament united against that of the King, the Earl was sent to Ireland in command of the troops despatched thither to protect the English and Scottish planters against the terrors of the Rebellion. He was in time to save their lives but not their property, and to mitigate somewhat the rigours of this dreadful rising in which many of the planters were at once, without distinction of rank, age, or sex, tortured, butchered, and in various districts all but extirpated. Meanwhile the conduct of Charles had so exasperated both England and Scotland that the Parliamentary and Covenanting forces united to crush him. This they did in the summer of 1644, on Long Marston Moor, a conflict in which the Earl fought with conspicuous courage and valour in the Covenanting cause. Eglinton was in the heat of the conflict with Prince Rupert. “Only he,” says Baillie, “keept ground there to his great loss. His Lieutenant Cronner, a most brave man, I feare shall die, and his son Robert be mutilated of ane arme.” Later, writing to the Earl himself, “I was much comforted, and blessed God,” says Baillie, “who had saved your life, and of your brave sonne Robert’s, from the greatest and most apparent danger that ever you had seen. Blessed be God, againe and againe, who did protect yow, and brought yow out of the jaws of death,

and that with so great honour, when so many in cowardice fell in disgrace worse than death." Still true to the Covenants, the Earl opposed the "Engagement" projected by the Duke of Hamilton in 1648 to march into England to rescue Charles from the army of the Commonwealth, and he aided the Marquis of Argyle and other noblemen in expelling the Convention from Edinburgh. Still, none was more distressed than he when tidings reached him of the execution of the ill-fated monarch. His loyalty to the King led to his "purgation" from the Scots army that went forth to encounter Cromwell at Dunbar, 3rd September, 1650, and deprived the Scots of the flower of their fighting men, with the result that they sustained a signal defeat. The "purgation" being rescinded, Greysteel resumed his resistance of the arms of Cromwell, and, while raising troops in Dumbartonshire, was surprised by a party of Cromwell's horse and carried captive, first to Hull, and then to Berwick, where he remained a prisoner till the restoration of Charles II. His capture appears to have been due to treachery.

The same year his son Robert, General-Major of the Horse under Charles II., after a resolute defence of Powick Bridge, in which he was severely wounded, was taken and sent a prisoner to Edinburgh Castle. The Earl exerted himself to obtain some mitigation of the rigours of his son's imprisonment. He wrote two touching letters to a "right honourable lord," asking his influence with the Lord Protector. In the first of these, "I have been a long sufferer," he says. "I pray God to comfort me and bringe me threu all my sufferings, to his glorie and to our comfort. I wauld intreat your lordship to be mindeful of your cusing, my sone Robert, for I think gif there be not course taken for him, I think he should not have long life in this world." In the second, in addition to an appeal to the Lord Protector, "that generos gallant man," regarding his own affairs, seriously involved through his antagonism to the cause of the Commonwealth, he appeals for tenderer treatment



for Robert, "because he is become weaklie by his closs keeping," and "I as a parent must wish him well." Major-General Montgomerie made his escape from Edinburgh Castle in 1658, and his father and elder brother had to suffer for it by added rigour of confinement. Concerning this also Greysteel takes up his complaint. "Treuly," he writes, "we ar innecent sufferers, because that we wer as ignorant of his proceador as the child that is unborne, which emboldens me to desire that favour of your lordship, as to be putt in our former libertie." Again he complains of "being in great distemper by reason of my restraint this seven weeks," and humbly sues for himself and his son to be reponed to their former liberty. Whether the Earl's prayer was granted cannot be told. When Major-General Montgomerie escaped he went abroad, and returned with Charles II. in 1660, and it was not till then that the Earl was released and had his estates restored to him. He did not, however, enjoy them long, as he died the following year, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

A fine strain of high personal character runs through all Greysteel's public life, and in his private and domestic life he seems to have been equally lovable. He was an affectionate husband. Between him and Anna Livingstone, his first Countess, the attachment, strong and tender, appears through their correspondence. She was his "best beloved and sweetest heart." he was her "most loving husband til death"; he was her "dearest sweetheart," she was his "ever more than myne owne." His affections for her were unchangeable, "for I protest I have no contentment in this world but that quhilk I have of yourself, and that I have come of you." Towards his children and grandchildren he was equally tender. When his son James was sick, "I must over to Ireland presentlie (God willing) to see him"; and when his son Alexander's daughter was ailing, he remembered her needs on a journey that she had to take. "I have directed the beirar to tak shoirt journeyis with the bairn that she may be keiped warme . . . Caus



buy ane pund of razines to give her by the way. Also caus buy ane pair of rucht mittines, and caus mak ane pair of pleyding hois to keep her warme, and ane pair of schoes, gif neid beis." For the "bairne" of a friend he thought only less tenderly. He was to have such things as were necessary by the advice of the doctor, "but I think Doctor Mayne and others thair, who may know the constitution of the bairne best, may perform these things best for the weill of the bairne."

Greysteel was, indeed, a man of many and various parts. To fidelity to his Sovereign in all matters that did not conflict with the dictates of his own conscience, he added independence of judgment and of action in all that he conceived to be the just cause of the people; and to the most undaunted courage in the field he added a softness of heart and a tenderness of demeanour that made him equally admirable.

Great lord and all as he was, the Earl was occasionally in sore straits for money. The civil wars, and the burdens on his estates pressed heavy on him, so much so that on occasion he is found writing to his Chamberlain at Eaglesham to say that he had been using all diligence to get money, "and all I can gett at this tyme is ten pounds sterling." Again, "I sie ther is many seiking silver. I pray God that ye get it, that they may get satisfacione, for I sall be as willing to give it as they sall desyre it if I can have it. . . . Our vexationes and burdines is a great trowbill. I pray God to comfort me and to bring me out of them." Withal, he was generous to his friends, and hospitable to his guests. The Earl was a man of great piety and religious feeling. He was, according to Pepys' Memoirs, "remarkable for solemnity and fulness in prayer; and certain profane persons mimicked him for the amusement of those who should have discouraged such conduct." A petition which he presented to the General Assembly testified that he had contributed "to the work of God through the faithfull warning and upstearing quhilk I received both in publict and private from my

ministers," David Dickson and Robert Baillie. Grey-steel, however, was no anchorite, as his wine bill shows, Here is a sample bill for two days :—

s. D.

Item, the 25 of November, 1646, the quilk day		
my lord came to Edinburgh, a chopin of		
seck .. .. .	12	6
Item, at supper, a chopine of new wine ..	6	8
Thursday, the 26 day, at morne, a muchkin of		
new wyne .. .. .	3	4
Item, at dinner, 1 muchkine seck .. ..	6	0
Item, 1 chopine of new wine .. ..	6	8
Item, to the supper, 1 muchkine seck .. ..	6	0
Item, a chopine of whyte wyne .. ..	6	8

Alexander, the sixth Earl, was twice married. His first wife was Lady Anne Levingstoune, eldest daughter of Alexander, first Earl of Linlithgow. She was for some time one of the maids of honour to Anne of Denmark, Queen of James VI. So well pleased was the King with her behaviour that, in a letter to her father in 1605, seven years before her marriage, he wrote—" If any occasion of a fitte marriage falle out for her, wee give you assurance that we wille not only pay her dower, but also defray all other charges belonging thereunto." To the Earl of Eglinton she bore five sons and three daughters. Her first son, Hugh, we shall deal with as seventh Earl. Her second son, Sir Henry Montgomerie of Giffen, born June 26, 1614, was baptised August 21, " the Queine Majestie being his godmother." He was married to a daughter of the Marquis of Argyle and died without heirs. His wife sold the barony of Giffen to her father-in-law for a life annuity of 2500 merks. The third son, Alexander, a Colonel in the Scots army acting against the rebels in Ireland, died in 1642. The fourth, Colonel James of Coilsfield, was ancestor of the present Earl of Eglinton. And the fifth was Robert, who, as we have seen, was a distinguished soldier in the war against Cromwell. Of the daughters the first

became the wife of the Earl of Tweeddale, the second died young, and the third died unmarried. The Earl's second wife was a daughter of Walter, first Lord Scott of Buccleuch. She died at Hull, 1651, when the Earl was a prisoner there.

There was an extraordinary case of witchcraft in the house of General Montgomerie (Robert) in Irvine in 1682. Some silver work had been stolen from the house. Suspicion rested upon a servant girl, who, being innocent, took it very ill, and declared that she would know who took the things if she should raise the Devil to tell her. Scant heed was paid to her threat, but she set about giving effect to it, "and on a day goes down to a laich cellar, takes the Bible with her, and draws a circle about her, and turns a riddle on end twice from south to north, or from the right hand to the left, having in her hand nine feathers which she pulled out of the tail of a black cock; and having read the 51st (Psalm ?) forward, she reads backward, chapter ix., verse 19, of the Book of Revelation; he appears in seaman's clothing with a blue cap, and asks what she would; she puts one question to him, and he answers it; and she casts three feathers at him, charging him to his place again; then he disappears at this time. He seemed to her to rise out of the earth to the middle body. She reads again the same verse backward the second time, and he appears the second time rising out of the ground, with one leg above the ground; she asks a second question and casts other three feathers at him, charging him to his place; he again disappears. She reads again the third time the same verse backward, and he appears the third time with his whole body above the ground (the last two times in the shape of a black grim man in black clothing, and the last time with a long tail); she asks a third question at him and casts the last three feathers at him, charging him to his place, and he disappears." While this weird incantation and scene was going on down in the cellar, the General and his lady upstairs "were sore afraid," though they could not tell

why, and "the dogs of the city made a hideous barking round about." Pale as death the girl appeared and told the lady where she would find the stolen things, in the chest of one of the servants; and there, on a search being made, they were found. "This," says the narrator, "was a high tempting of God," and the General had the girl sent to prison for it—with what ultimate result cannot be told. "From this anecdote and others of a like nature," adds the narrator, "it would seem that Satan is found of appearing in blue."

When Lady Margaret was married to the Earl of Tweeddale, the convivialities appear to have been much too extended to suit Robert Baillie, the minister of Kilwinning. Lord Seaton was there, and Lord Semple, "and other papists," and Mr. Baillie went to the Earl and requested him to observe the ordinary religious exercises of the house; yet these were omitted. Some of the lords had "more drink than needed; among some of the gentlemen and servants evident drunkenness." The minister was wroth. "The day there after, being Sunday," he says, "I was in high passion, Satan having so much prevailed at my elbow, and in the zeale of God, in presence of all (I) did sharplie rebuke all sins came my way, especieallie drunkenness and coldryfness in religion; somewhat also of the breach of covenant was spoken." The lords were angry, and Eglinton thought himself publicly taxed, and complained to everybody he met.

"To all that spoke to me I replied that I had not spoken anything personallie, but when upon so horrible occasion God's Spirit had moved me, from the Word of God, to rebuke open sin; if any took it in evil part, they behooved to know I was the servant of God, and would not spare to reprove sin in the face of King Charles, let be of all the Earles of Scotland; and if this displeased them, I wish they would be assured it would be but a beginning; so long as they were my parochiners they should have much more

of it. When my lord Eglintoun some twenty days thereafter drew me by and admonished me sharplie of that day's extravagancies and fume (as he spake), I told him I had done naught but my dutie, whereof I did not repent, not would not be directed by him in my sermons; and if he was displeased with my ministrie, he should not be long troubled with it. These things going farr and broad, but not by me directlie nor indirectlie, Glasgow thought it then high time to stirr."

The correspondence published in the "Memorials of the Montgomeries, Earls of Eglinton," by William Fraser, 1859, throws a number of interesting sidelights on the Scottish history of the period. We are not dealing, however, with national events; and it is sufficient for our purpose that we should confine our consideration to such matters as bear on the personal characteristics of the Montgomeries themselves. As we have seen, Alexander, the sixth Earl, and his Countess Anne entertained a warm love towards each other, and to their children. When the Earl went from home the Countess kept him duly posted in all domestic matters. Thus: "Herie your sonne is better than ye left him; I causd wyshe his mouthe for the watter cancar, and Hew hes ane gret car of your little dodgue. . . My sweet hert, so sune as yee can dispach your adois, hest you to me, for in your companie is my earthlie comfort and grettest joye." Again, "Thus longin to sie you, my hert, and in the mein tyme I have sent you this little ring to wear, praying God for manie long and prosperous dayes unto you, I rest, Yours most deuitfull affectionat whilist I have lyf." When the Earl is coming west from Setoun with "my lady my mother, and our father, with the rest of the lordis that is heir," he bids his "sweit hert" "cause have our supper in reddines." The same tone runs through all the letters, which are a pleasant reminder of the happy days of this affectionate couple.

There is abundance of evidence, both in her own letters, and in letters received by her from her friends, that the Countess was not only sincerely devoted to the Presbyterian cause, but that she was a woman of great personal piety. Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, a leading Presbyterian divine of the period, and one who suffered much both in his estate and in his liberty for the cause, writing to her in 1629, says—"I cannot tell you quhat schole your ladyship hes beine at, bot surlie your ladyships last letter smelled of grace, had ane fragrant perfume of the doctrine of the Holie Spirit." The Countess had apparently been writing to Bruce regarding some troubles that she had been called upon to endure. "This," says Bruce, "is the crosse of Christ that is upon yowr ladyship, and it will santifie the domestick. I never fand your ladyship so redolent; if I wer neir yow, I wald gar yow smell mor in my mynd; bot as it is, ye shall have my inteir effectiōne." Josias Welsh, also, son of John Welsh of Ayr, and minister of Templepatrick in Ulster, was her correspondent. He tells her of the success of his own work, of the great spiritual awakening under his ministry, and of the trouble he had with the Bishop—trouble that ended in his being driven out of his church and his being compelled to preach in the open air, to the loss of his health, and to his death at a comparatively early period of life—and then proceeds: "As for you, elect ladye, what shal I say to you but what the Apostle sayeth to the Thessalonians I ep., 5 ch., 24 v.: Faithful is he that hath called you, that wil also doe it; and thynk not strange that you be exercised, with tryals within and tryals without; must you not be baptised with the baptisme wherewith your Lord was baptised; if rare for grace, why not rare for crosses also? The Lord keepeth that wyse proportion with His owne; if you have gotten the gold, will you not get the fyre also?"

Among the family papers is an account of the expenses incurred by Greysteel in the equipment of forces for public service in 1639. The sums expended are stated in merks. The coin, like the other Scotch



coins of the period, had only one-twelfth of the English value ; nominally 13s 4d, it was worth 1s 1½d English. It must be remembered, however, that the value of money was much greater then than now, and the total amount represented what must have been a heavy drain on the resources of the Earl. To begin with, he paid 8000 merks for arms, 900 for powder, 450 for matches, and 300 for lead. He had eighteen companies of Foot and two of Horse, with whom he relieved the town of Edinburgh and the College of Justice, and that without any expense to the public, at a cost of 5000 merks. The expenses at Dunse, at Preston, and at Westnisset totalled 7000 merks. To his officers the Earl paid 1500 merks ; for payment of his son Alexander's squadron 8000 merks ; sixteen months' pay to Major Huchisone amounted to 3200 merks. There were a number of smaller sums added, and one of 6075 merks owing for the soldiers that went to Ireland with the Earl at the time of the Rebellion, bringing up the total to 48,717 merks. To raise the money he had been compelled to mortgage his lands ; and he humorously closes the account with the statement that he had never received anything off the public, saving a " biscat at Dunse, fra ane Gilbert Muire."

By the year 1660 Greysteel was drawing near to the close of his life. The " towne of Glasgowe " wanted his minister, Mr. James Ferguson, and it put him sorely about. But he was not a man to be deprived of his spiritual guide without making serious protest, and accordingly he addressed a letter to the " Right Reverend Moderator " of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr that is touching in its earnestness :—

" I must intreat yow and the rest of your reverend brethrine of the synod that now, when I am neir to the grave, yow wold not depryve me of the means of comfort I have by my minister, Mr. James Fergusone. You know I have hazarded both lyfe and fortune to serve the judicatories of this church ; which made the

General Assemblie, out of the sense they had of my affectione for them, continue him to me after he was transported by vote befor them. And seing thei did so, I cannot suspect bot you will much mor befriend me, especialie against the towne of Glasgowe, who have alreadie robed me of fyve of my ministers ; so as it seems to me, it is now rather my prejudice than ther owen good they are seekinge ; for they know weal enough they can never get him ; they may weal open a doore to Edinbrugh ; and what should be the cause of this ther malice against me who have ever lived as a neighbour, readie to doe them all the courtesies I could, I know not ; bot what ever it be, I hope your wisdom will not be accessorie to my prejudice, but will continue him to me, and so ingage me and myne to be ever your,—Eglintoun.”

In addition to the letter to the Moderator, Hew, Lord Montgomerie, addressed an earnest supplication, “in his oune name and in the name of his aged father the Earle of Eglintone,” to the Synod, to the same effect.

The Earl at that time was probably “nearer to the grave” than he knew. He had executed two testaments, the first in 1652. Its opening words are proof of the deep strain of piety that ran like a seam through his character. “Wee, Alexander Earle of Eglintone, being uncertane of the houre of death, quhilk is only knowne to the Almightye, make our testament and latter will as follows :—And first wee recomend our soull to the Almighty God, beleveing assuredly to be saved by faith throw the merits of Jesus Chryst my Redemer ; and wills my corpse to be buried in my ordinar buriall place at Kilwinning,” &c. He executed a second will in 1660, which opened in somewhat similar words. And, as has been already said, he died in the year 1661, full of years and of merit.

Born 30th March, 1613, Hugh, seventh Earl, succeeded his father on January 14th, 1661. In his youth he is stated to have been “ane good scoller,”

and "bussie leirning everie day." With his two brothers, Henry and Alexander, he was sent to Glasgow University in 1628, ; and there is an account preserved of the "plenishing" the "bairnes" took with them. So far as the future Earl was concerned, that was as follows :— "To Lord Hew, ane stand of satting clothes, with ane pair silk stokingis, ane pair garsteris and rosses, with gold and sylver perling ; ane red and yellow fether ; ane scarlet cloth and wupes ; twa rede freise waist cottis ; ane gylt sword and serff ; twa pair of velvet pantonis with sylver lace, ane stand of scarlet clothis ; Item, ane caster felt hat with ane common felt hat and two gold hat bands." He seems to have remained in Glasgow till 1633, when he was sent to Paris to complete his education. The journey to London he describes in an interesting letter to his father. Starting from Setoun, the first night he reached Dunbar, the next Berrie, "quhair he reſtid the Sabath," and then proceeded to Netherby. His horses for the most part were by this time "all lame," and he "took post," leaving his horses to be brought on after him. In due time he reached London in excellent health. The King received him very graciously, but it was thought best he should not see the Queen, "because of the discontent she was in for the present with the Treasurer's son, my Lord Wasson, being ambassador, for intercepting a packet of Her Majesty's and my Lord Holland's directed to the Chevalier de Par, and sent back by Lord Wasson to His Majesty." In the autumn of 1634 he and his brother Henry returned from Paris, where they had been studying military matters, and particularly the art of fortification, to London, where, as recorded in a letter from Sir David Cuninghame to their father, "their discreet and well-fashioned carriage and behaviour had been such as had gained favour and respect from all."

The young lord had not long returned home before he began to take an interest in public affairs, and not always on the same side as his father. Baillie had known him from a child and had taken an interest in his educa-

tion, and he was much concerned when he seemed to him to deviate from the straight way.

"We who loves your lordship's person and honour," he writes to Lord Montgomerie, "have our eares beaten in all companies, both at home and abroad, with reports of you that vexes our heart. At first many whispered, now all complaines, that your lordship, who had purchased latelie more love and honour in all Scotland for your zeal and happie paines in the good cause than any of your age, are now clean changed ; that evidentlie, in your discourses with everie one, and in your actions, you syde with those whom all good men to this day, and yourself, were wont to take for evill instruments, such as Montrose, Morton, William and Mungo Murrays. On the contrare, to be averse from those whose labours God has blessed to save our poor land, to your own knowledge, from imminent ruin, such ass are Argyle, &c."

Baillie then proceeds to point out the evils to Scotland, to religion, and to the cause of God that would be the fruits of "these counsellis of the Devill," and he concludes with a very plain monition in these words :—

"If your lordship should give your heart to affect, or your power to second anie such counsellis, I am persuaded you would doe what would bring to your God, and the cause you professed, great dishonour, to yourself disgrace, to your new friends no more reall help than others of equall power to your lordship, bot to all your true friends a great deall of grief, and to none more, both of dolour and of shame, than to me, who was always wont, and still resolves to continue, a daylie interceder with God, for all I concieve to be four your true honour and weelfare."

Charles I. obviously reckoned Lord Montgomerie among his friends. In 1639 he summoned him from Whitehall to repair thither to speak with him "for the better settling of businesse in that our Kingdom of Scotland." The year following, however, Lord Mont-

gomerie was with the army of the Covenant that invaded England, with a brigade that averaged 1600 common soldiers, besides the officers of the staff and other officers, and he received an appointment to occupy the castle of Tynemouth. Not only were his soldiers strong in numbers; for piety and military discipline they were commended above all the rest.

It is not to be inferred from Lord Montgomerie's presence with the Covenanting Army that he had ceased wholly to be a Loyalist or that he had any great regard for the Covenant. To that historic deed he was indifferent. In a letter to his father, 1643, he alludes to the fact that he had not signed it, "by reason he had some scruples; bot," he adds, "quhen your lordship returns I think your lordship may do much to solve me of them." Whether these scruples were removed by his father may be seriously doubted; and this may in all probability be accounted for by his having been a brother-in-law of the first Duke of Hamilton, who, in 1648, divided the councils of the Covenanters by marshalling an army to relieve Charles I. from the Parliamentary forces who had made him a prisoner. He was "earnest and bent," as his wife regretfully writes, "to follow this unhappie engagement;" and, predicting the ruin of the enterprise, she exerted herself, but in vain, to prevent her husband joining in it. For his share in it he was declared ineligible for any public office or employment, but in 1650, on his own petition and assurance, the disqualification was removed by the Committee of Estates. He found the Kirk harder to satisfy. Before the Presbytery of Irvine he acknowledged the sinfulness and the unlawfulness of his action, but it was not until he had stood at the end of his seat in church as a token of his repentance, and subscribed the Covenant and Band, that he was fully restored to Church membership. When Cromwell and his army appeared in Glasgow, Principal Baillie took shelter for ten months in Lord Montgomerie's castle in Cumbræ; and it was left to Mr. Zachary Boyd, a son

of the shire, to rail on them to their very faces in the High Church. The loyalism of Lord Montgomerie brought him to the side of Charles II. when he was in the West of Scotland in 1651, and he fought for the King at the battle of Worcester. In Cromwell's Act of Grace and Pardon, 1654, he was specially exempted from the Protector's clemency, largely because he had hanged one of Cromwell's spies, and his estates were forfeited ; a fifth part of the profits, with victual and money from the rents to the amount of £100 a year, being allowed his wife to maintain herself and her many children. In 1657 he was reported by the Scotch to the English Privy Council as behaving himself peaceably, and his father was specially mentioned as having always been on the side of the better and more godly part of the nation.

The Eglinton family had done a great deal for the royal cause, and when Charles II. had ascended the throne of his father--by which time also Greysteel had given place to the seventh Earl—he granted to the Earl, under date January 17, 1662, the citadel of Ayr that had been constructed at such infinite pains and cost by Cromwell, with the magazine house thereof, walls, timber, ditches, and ironwork belonging thereto, as the same had been possessed by the "late usurpers." The grant proceeded upon a consideration of the services rendered by the Earl and his progenitors to His Majesty and his deceased father of glorious memory, and in compensation in some part of the very great damages the Earl and his father had sustained in their several engagements for the royal interest, by the sequestration, forfeiture, and fining of their estates and plundering of their houses by the late cruel usurpers. Charles II. was, unhappily, a man to whom the drastic experiences of his royal father had taught little or nothing, and he lost little or no time in endeavouring to bring the Presbyterianism of Scotland into subjection ; and in the beginning of 1665 the Earl of Rothes instructed the Earl to gather in all the arms, "such as muskets, gunns,



pistolls, pickes, and other weapons bellicall ” within the shire of Renfrew, the bailiary of Cuninghame, and the regality of Kilwinning, and to put them in some secure place until further orders. This the Earl did by means of small parties of soldiers. The search only resulted in finding “noe picks at all, except threty or 40 old ones, and not above 30 or 40 muskatts, whollie unfitt for sarvice, about six paires of pistolls, some guns or fouling pieces, and some considerable number of swords.” Of these swords there were some that could not be drawn for rust, and of others the blade would hardly stick in the hilt. But while the Earl obeyed his instructions, so far as he could, he did not hesitate to tell the Earl of Rothes that he was wholly opposed to the policy of making any such search at all. It was an assumption, he pointed out, that the district was disloyal, which he had no reason for believing that it was. It was a concession to rumours that he thought were groundless and which would give the enemy cause to conclude that he had friends in the district, which the Earl thought he had not. And it deprived the district of the means of self-defence in the event of the landing of even an hundred men from some privateer. At the Earl’s suggestion Rothes permitted the gentlemen and others to keep and to wear their swords. It may be doubted whether the district was really so destitute of arms as the Earl’s report would seem to indicate, but it must also be borne in mind that the English had been beforehand with the Royalists in depriving the countryside of its weapons of defence.

It is clear from the correspondence that the Earl had with Burnet, the Archbishop of Glasgow, that that rev. Prelate looked upon him as one of his chief props and mainstays in his own part of the country. Burnet had not his troubles to seek, either in the way of finding suitable ministers for the vacant parishes or of securing the goodwill of the people. The young man, Alexander Gregory, who had been presented by the Lord Chancellor to Dreghorn, “met with nothing but opprobrious and

contumelious speeches." The Church's affairs were "in a worse condition in the Presbytery of Irvine than in any part of our diocese." From the citadel of Ayr the report was that the ministers had not given the satisfaction which they had promised to the Earl; they had to all appearance offended in the matter of the conventicles; and "there are very many loose and dissolute persons employed in your lordship's manufacture whose conversation is very scandalous." The people of Fenwick would not let the conforming minister into the manse. Indeed, all over the Earl's jurisdiction he had to do with what Burnet regarded as a very froward and treacherous generation, from whom neither of them was likely to have much credit. Between them, none the less, they succeeded in placing ministers in a number of vacant charges, and the Earl evidently acted with great judgment in refusing to adopt the harsh measures that were taken by many others, and by the State, in forcing ministers upon the people contrary to their wishes.

While Archbishop Burnet was thus involved in the cares and anxieties that were inevitable to a man in his position, he suffered a sore domestic affliction in the loss of his son that evoked a very tender and sympathetic epistle from the Earl of Eglinton. This letter throws a strong light on the character and the piety of the writer:—

"Eglintoun, 27 February, 1665.

"May it please your grace—As I am really affected in your affliction by the death of your hopfull son, so I am confident that you, whose eminent stature doth cary you to be exemplaire in the exercise of all Christian vertews, will endeavour now in this chiefly which the Lord's present dispensation doth call you even in Christian patience, courage, and humble submission to God, who can doe His poor fraill cretures no wronge, and can easily mak up ony seeminge hurt by giveinge us the equivalent, yea much more satisfaction and contentment in Himself than what

wee have lost in our choicest cretur comforts. But I crave mercy for presuminge to wryte to you on such a subject, who, I know, is soe weel acquainted with thes sweet cordialls of comfort, edefienge lessons of instructiones, and most equitable precepts for direction, which the spirit of God hath laid up in Scriptur for one in such a case: Only, my afECTION and respect to your grace hath constraned me to goe this far (it may be thought) out of my statione, that you may thereby know you are in a gret missur simpathized with by—Your grace most obledged humble servant.”

Lord Eglinton’s letter afforded great consolation to the Archbishop, as the response to it shows :—

“ My deare lord—I have had very many and ample testimonies of your lordship’s undeserved respect and favour since first I had the honour of your lordship’s acquaintance; but never any of which I was more sensible, or with which I was more satisfied than your lordship’s last most Christian and compassionate letter, which spake your lordship as much a Christian and a person of true honour as any I have mett with in my time; and I must thankfully confess to your lordship that it did very much to asswage and mitigate my griefs, and promise that it shall lie by me as a pledge of your lordship’s respect, and ane evidence of my obligation to your lordship.”

The Militia were a product of the troublous times during which the seventh Earl lived. By letter from the Privy Council of date September 3, he, the Earl of Cassillis, and the Master of Cochrane were appointed Captains of the three troops that were to be enlisted from the counties of Ayr and Renfrew; and they were instructed to call the Commissioners of both shires to meet at Irvine, where they were to present to them their commissions and instructions and “to act and proceed forthwith according thereto with all possible

care and diligence," and with all speed to send to the Chancellor the names of the inferior officers that the same might be known and approved by the Council.

The Earl was twice married. His first wife, the contract of marriage with whom was prepared in 1631, was Lady Anne Hamilton, a daughter of the second Marquis of Hamilton. At that date the Earl was but eighteen years of age, and the only child, a daughter, of the union was born the following year, in which year also Lady Anne died and was buried at Kilwinning. Three years later the Earl married Lady Mary Leslie, eldest daughter of the sixth Earl of Rothes, and by her he had a family of two sons and five daughters. The elder son, Alexander, became the eighth Earl; the younger was the Hon. Francis Montgomerie of Giffen, who was one of the Commissioners for the Treaty of Union in 1705, and afterwards Member of Parliament for the county. The eldest daughter, Mary, married George, the fourth Earl of Winton; the second, Margaret, the second Earl of Loudoun; the third, Elenora, Sir David Dunbar of Baldoon, Bart.; the fourth, Christian, the fourth Lord Balmerino; and the fifth, Anne, Sir Andrew Ramsay, of Abbotshall, Bart.

There is a detailed inventory of the jewels, and other personal effects and books left by Lady Baldoon, who, according to Wodrow's "*Analecta*," "died most pleasantly and in the Lord." Her ladyship's library is a study in the theological literature of the period. It consisted of about ninety volumes, all of the same character, and included Owen upon the Preservation of the Saints; Calderwood's *Historie of the Church of Scotland*; Baxter's *Saints' Rest*; Mr. Love's *Strength and Growth of Grace*; Flavell's *Method of Grace in bringing home Eternal Redemption*; *The Ark of the Testament Opened*; *the Ark of the Covenant Opened*; *Bruik's Ark for all good Noahs*; *Gilespie's Aaron's Rode de Blossoming*; *Flavel's Husbandrie Spirituallized*; *Bruxe's Remedies against Satan's Devices*; *Durham upon Scandell*; *Guthrie's Saving Interest*; *Baxter's*

Now or Never ; Hucheson on Haggay, Zacheria, and Malachie ; Brunsleye's Brassen Serpent ; Grapes in the Wilderness ; and Sir Charles Wolsey on Unreasonableness of Aithiesme.

The seventh Earl died in the end of February, 1669, aged fifty-six, having possessed the titles and estates for eight years. In the account of the expenses for his funeral, one of the bills is for " a lead coffin and some tobacco pipes."

Alexander, the ninth Earl, who was born about 1640, succeeded to the Earldom in 1669. Comparatively little is recorded of his career. This is accounted for by his having handed over the estates to his eldest son, on the occasion of the marriage of the latter, in 1676, and retired from the active charge of them on an annuity of 6000 merks Scots ; and by his second and third wives having been English ladies, with whom he evidently preferred to reside in England. A Privy Councillor under William and Mary, he made earnest applications to Lord Melville, the Secretary of State, to be appointed to the command of the First Regiment, but without success. This Earl is most remarkable for his marriages. His first wife, Lady Elizabeth Crichton, was a daughter of Lord Dumfries. Baillie tells the manner of the wedding. " The Earl of Eglintoun's heir, the Master of Montgomerie conyoying his father to London, runns away without any advyce, and maries a daughter of my Lord Dumfries, who is a broken man, when he was sure of my Lady Balclough's (Countess of Buccleuch) marriage, the greatest match in Brittain. This unexpected pranck is worse to all his kinn than his death would have been." There is a letter extant from her ladyship to the Lady Coilsfield which, for bad spelling, it would hardly be possible to beat even in an age when spelling was very largely a matter of taste. It runs as follows :—

" Dearest Madam—When I conseder thay many oblagationes yow have bene pleased tow heape uppon me, encouragath me to intreat won mor ; wich is that

you wold be pleased to sed, so sone as this comes tow  
your handes, som trusty parson to wate magtakets  
tayler at wrin, with a hors, tow resave a packe ; and be  
pleased tow kepit in your coustaty, and euer obleg  
your most affectionat seruant.

“ January, 8, 1674.

“ My saruis tow kind Mag, and my ounie Sandy. For  
the much honored, my Lady Colesfield, Thayes  
present.”

The first of the three Countesses died before October  
23, 1673, leaving three sons and two daughters. The Earl  
married, secondly, about 1678, Grace, daughter of Francis  
Popley, of Woolley Moorehouse, Yorkshire, widow of Sir  
Thomas Wentworth, Bart., In a letter by the family  
chaplain of the Wentworths, to Sir Thomas's brother  
Sir Matthew, then in Ireland, inviting him in rhyme  
to hasten to England, Grace Popley is thus severely  
alluded to :—

“ Turn out the madam ! the great butter joan !  
And let her make her packs, and so begone ;  
But stop her too, devide her baggs and stuff ;  
The half is yours, some say 'tis sure enuf.  
Let her begone to seek some other joy !  
Some sanguine darling, or some active boy !  
Will scatter angels, and will bring to light  
Her rusty wealth, long hid in blackest night ;  
Presto ! great madam, now you may be gone,  
To dance your jigs with Mab or Oberon.”

The parson was evidently not by any means well-affected  
towards the future Countess. Judging, however, by a  
letter written to her by the Earl in 1685, there is no  
reason to doubt the warmth of his affection for “ the  
Madam.” He addresses her as “ Dearest heart,” declares  
his intention to hasten back to her, and adds—“ God  
knoweth that to be with you is the only hapnies of,  
dearest lyf, your affectionat and trulie lovind.” Her  
ladyship, according to the Eglinton Family Accounts,  
would seem to have died the year after her marriage,  
but this is hardly in keeping with a letter from the Earl



in 1689 to the Secretary of State asking permission "to goe sie my weif, who is verie sike in Yorkshier," and adding, "if she should daie befor I sie her, it wold be 5 or 6 thousand pound out of my waie."

Most remarkable of all was the Earl's third marriage, in 1698, to Catherine, Lady Kaye, daughter of Sir William St Quintin of Harpham in the county of York. This lady had already been three times married, and she had reached the extraordinary age of ninety years. The Earl, at the time of the marriage, was fifty-eight. Her ladyship died in August, 1700. The Earl died in the end of 1701, and his body, conveyed to Kilwinning, was buried in the family vault there.

Alexander, the ninth Earl, received his early education at Culross, where he had been boarded with Mr. Matthew Fleeming, the minister. While there he had the smallpox and other ailments. Payment had to be made to the surgeons who "cured my lord's elbow when it was disjointed," and for "severall bloodlettings." From Culross he went to the University of St. Andrews, and remained there from 1673 to 1676. On the occasion of his marriage, shortly after leaving college, to Lady Margaret Cochrane, his father, as has been said, made over to him the care of the estates, which he managed with considerable success, clearing the paternal properties of the debts with which they had been encumbered, and adding greatly to their extent by the purchase of the Dundonald, Kilmaurs, Glassford, and Southennan estates. In addition, he played an important part in public life, was a member of King William's Privy Council, and a Commissioner of the Treasury, sitting in Parliament in 1700, by royal patent, and voting for the Lord High Treasurer. He was a Privy Councillor to Queen Anne; was, 1771, one of the Commissioners of the Chamberlain's Court; was elected, 1710, and again 1713, a representative Peer for Scotland; and, during the rising in 1715 in favour of the Stuart family, rendered material service to the House of Hanover by raising the regiment of the Ayrshire

Fencibles. After a life of great activity and usefulness, he died suddenly at Eglinton on the 18th of February, 1729. The manner of his death is recorded in a letter, written from Eglinton, by James, fifth Earl of Galloway, to Hugh Montgomerie of Hartfield :—

“ Sir,—I, with the greatest concern that’s possible, doe acquaint you of the death of my dear friend the Earll of Eglintoun, quhich happened this day towards three in the afternoon, to the great surprise of all of us. I was by him when he dyed, but (he) spoke not one word, nor knew anie person ; yet, with the greatest ease, and without anie struggle, he finisht his life. The melancholie situatione of this familie is not to be exprest ; nothing but sorrow and grief to the greatest degree in all faces.”

He was buried on the 20th of March, and the following incident, from the “ Caledonian Mercury ” of March 31, is worthy of reproduction :—“ We hear that at the funeral of the late Right Honourable Earl of Eglinton, there were between 900 and 1000 beggars assembled, many of whom came over from Ireland, who had £50 of that noble lord’s charity distributed to them.”

The ninth Earl was thrice married. When he was wedded, 1676, to Lady Margaret Cochrane, eldest daughter of William Lord Cochrane, the Earl of Dundonald, the bride’s grandfather, started with his lady to drive from Paisley to Eglinton, but when the horses came to the house by the way where Janet Mathie, a notable witch, lived, they refused to go by the door and turned their heads homewards ; “ whereupon the gentlemen that rode with the Earle dismounted themselves and yoked their horses in the coach, but by that door they would not goe. On which occasion the Earle causes yoake his horses again to the coach, and so dryves homeward with his lady, and all that was with him, to Paisley. A very remarkable passage as has been in our days.” Which no doubt it was ; and one is not surprised

to read that the witch “ is now a prisoner in Paisley upon that account.”

Of this marriage there were three sons, all of whom died young, and four daughters. The Earl's second wife, Lady Anne Gordon, was the eldest daughter of the first Earl of Aberdeen, Chancellor of Scotland, and by her he had one daughter, Lady Mary, born 1704, a celebrated beauty and the subject of several laudatory poems by Hamilton of Bangour. His third wife was the famous Susanna, daughter of Sir Archibald Kennedy of Culzean, who presented him with three sons and eight daughters. The eldest son, James, born 1718, died in August, 1724, and his death was the occasion of great grief to his father, as is evident from his record of the event in the family Bible :—

“ My dear son James, who was born the nintien of Aprll, 1718, was removed out of this vaine and transitorie world (I trust God) to thos mansions of glorie, which he has prepared for those who love and fear Him, upon Wensday the tuentie sixth of Agust, 1724, a day which I resolve always to keep as a day of humiliation ; and I pray God I may be enabled by his grace to keep it aright, that he out of his infinit mercie may avert futour judgments my and my predecessors' sins so justly deserve. My dear child dyed betuixt eight and nine in the forenoon.”

The second son, Alexander, was tenth, and the third, Archibald, eleventh Earl. But before Lady Susanna had a son at all, she had five or six daughters. When the first of these was born “ my lord,” according to Baillie, “ took very ill and unchristianly.” What must have been his feelings as daughter after daughter arrived ! The eldest daughter, Elizabeth, married Sir John Cuninghame of Caprington, one of the greatest scholars of the age, and at her death in 1800 was ninety-three years of age. The second, Helen, was the wife of Francis Stuart of Pittendreich, a son of the eighth Earl of Moray ; the third,

Susanna, married John Rentoun of Lamberton; the fourth, Margaret, married Sir Alexander Macdonald of Macdonald, was the mother of three distinguished sons, and the confidante of Flora Macdonald in her plans for promoting the escape of Prince Charlie; the fifth, Frances, died unmarried; the sixth, Christian, married James Moray of Abercairney; the seventh, Grace, made an unhappy marriage with Charles Byne, a Cornet in Bland's Dragoons; and the eighth, Charlotte, died young and unmarried.

At the time of the Earl's death his eldest son, and heir, was only six years old. Feeling the end to be gradually approaching, he addressed an anxious and earnest letter to his son, which he instructed should be carefully kept till he was twelve or fourteen years old, when it was to be handed to him in order that he might read it once a week with a view to his instruction in things both spiritual and temporal. This letter is so good, and so full of wise and understanding counsel, that the greater part of it may well be both reproduced and read with profit. Having referred to his growing weakness, and his anxiety for the future of his son, the Earl proceeds:—

“The best advice, my dearest child, I can give—and I pray God may give you His grace to follow it—is that you remember your Creator in the days of your youth, and that yow early acquaint yourself with asking direction from Him; and, in order to obtain His favour, read the Scriptures carefully, and observe and follow what is there commanded, and abstain from what is forbidden, for in them yow will find your duty to God, to your neighbour, and your self, distinctly set down. And let me earnestly recommend my chieftest care, that yow ever keep in remembrance your mortality, and that as yow shall employ the short time yow shall have in this world, so yow shall be either happy or miserable to all eternity. Let me therefore intreat yow, with all the earnestness of a most affectionat father, that yow would never put

the pleasures of a vain, transitory world in ballance with the eternall joys that God has prepared for all those who love, fear, and keep His commandments."

Next to God, the Earl recommended to his son his duty to his mother, to honour, respect, and obey her ; to show to his sisters and their husbands all the kindness and civilities he could ; and to love and protect his brothers and to make their interest his own. The estate he left in much better condition than when he had succeeded to it. The provisions for his younger children would leave it in debt, but with tolerable management, he expected it would be free long before his heir came of age :—

" I shall ever wish yow to live according to your quality ; but remember, we are but stewards of the good things of this life God is pleased to bestow upon us, and that He will require an account of how we have employed the honours and riches He has given us ; for we receive not these to gratify our lusts or ambition, but to give us greater opportunity of being serviceable to Him, our country, and our friends.

" I earnestly entreat that when yow come to the age of a man, yow would chuse the best company ; and that yow would avoid the company of gamesters ; for, had yow an estate thrice as great as I leave yow, it may soon be lost, and yow brought consequently under great difficulties. Besides, the gentlemen (who) goe under that denomination are looked upon as cheats, and the worst of men, and therefor are not fitt company for yow. I also desire yow may not keep running horses, for that necessarily leads yow to converse with jockies and grooms—the first openly profess cheatric, the other fitt only for your servants, and neither proper for your companions."

The Earl proceeds to inculcate the advantages of education and the duty of learning, and specially

recommends the study of the Civil and the Scots law. The times were uneasy and trouble was threatening between the houses of Hanover and Stuart. It was therefore necessary that the young Earl should be put upon his guard against identifying himself too compromisingly with either of the great parties in the State or risk his fortunes, perhaps his life, in either cause :—

“ Yow are, in my poor opinion, not to intermeddle with either, but live abstractly at home, managing your affairs to the best advantage, and living in a good understanding with your friends and neighbours; for, since we are under the misery and slavery of being united to England, a Scotsman, without prostituting his honour, can obtain nothing by following a Court, but bring his estate under debt, and consequently himself to necessity.

“ It will perhaps be proposed to yow to make an English marriage, as that which will bring yow much money. But, if English ladies bring what is considerable with them, they will soon spend it, and some of yours; for their education and way of living differs altogether from yours; therefore, make choise of a Scots lady, of an discreet and honourable family, who will apparently be satisfied to live as your wife, and in the end yow will be richer with her than with one with an English portion.

“ What is above recommended is done with all the tender concern and affection I am capable. That God may govern and direct yow, and that He may take yow under His speciall protection, are my most earnest wishes and constant prayers.”

When the Earl died he appointed Lord Milton trustee, or tutor, on behalf of his family; and his lordship appears to have proved an exemplary guardian to them. Both by the Countess and her daughters he was held in high esteem. There is a somewhat amusing letter that shows the terms of affectionate intimacy on



which the young ladies stood with him. They seem to have regarded the Lord Justice Clerk with the confidence and affection that were his due, and the reward of his unselfish kindness towards the family of his old friend. How far their solicitation availed it is impossible to say. For, between his duty as a Judge and the inducements that were held out to him to be merciful, Lord Milton had a hard choice to make. The letter, highly creditable to the good feelings of the girls, is as follows :—

“ The Petition of the six Vestal Virgins of Eglintoun to the Honourable Lord Milton.

“ Humbly sheweth—That whereas your petitioners has taken upon them to sollicite in behalf of Alexander Aickenhead, part of whose storie your lordship knows already. His new misfortune is that after he had received sentence of banishment for three years out of this regalty, he was unhappily seduced by his principal creditors to come privately to his own house to compound some debts, but was not an hour there before the malicious neighbourhood inform’d against him and had him unexpectedly apprehended and carried to Irvine gaol ; so we, being importun’d by his wife (who is extremely handsom), joyned with our own inclinations to serve the poor man, we’re in hopes that these two motives will have some assendent over your lordship’s natural disposition to relieve the distress’d ; and, to excite you still further to this good action, his wife, as the only acceptable reward she thinks she can make for this piece of humanity, she hopes from your lordship in favours of her husband’s liberty, she protests you shall have as many kisses as you please to demand.

“ And we likeways bind and oblige our selves to do the same when your lordship makes your publick entrie here in May ; but we once more beg you’ll use your interest to get the man out of prison, which you’ll do a particular good to his family, and an

infinite obligation to all your pupals, whose ambition's to subscribe their selves

“ Your lordship's most affectionate children,

BETTIE MONTGOMERIE.  
ELEONORA MONTGOMERIE.  
SUSANNA MONTGOMERIE.  
MARGT. MONTGOMERIE.  
FRANCES MONTGOMERIE.  
CHRISTIAN MONTGOMERIE.

“ P.S.—We'll esteem it a favour if your lordship will honour us with an answer. But for heaven's sake remember that the wife is hansom.

“ To the honourable Lord Milton, at his lodgings, Edinburgh.”

It is told of Lady Bettie that once, when at toilet, her mother the Countess asked her what she would give to be as pretty as her. To this Lady Bettie replied, “ Not half so much as you would give to be as young as I am.”

The Countess, to whom we now turn, was one of the most beautiful and remarkable, as she was also one of the most intellectual women of her day.

Lady Susanna, was, as has been said, a daughter of Culzean. She was of the stock and lineage of Kennedy. To exceptional personal charms she added grace of mind and graciousness of heart, and to these a high measure of intellectuality and force of character. She had been destined to wed the Earl of Eglinton, according to the story : for one day as she was walking in the gardens of Culzean, a hawk belonging to the Earl lighted upon her, and all the wiseacres agreed that the omen was plain. One might think that a bird of prey was rather a rough harbinger of love, but, however that may be, the hawk had made no mistake ; it was returned to Eglinton, and in due time the fair Susanna followed it. Another story, less romantic, but characteristic after its fashion of a trait in the Scottish

character in earlier times than ours, has it that the Earl had his eye upon Lady Susanna Kennedy while yet his second wife was alive. Her father held conference with him regarding a proposal for her hand that had been made by Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, a man of learning and talents in days when these were by no means common. Knowing her capacity for music, Sir John sent her a flute as a gift. When she tried to extract the harmonies from it, she found that there was something inside that interrupted them; and, pulling out a piece of paper, she read these lines:—

Harmonious pipe, I languish for thy bliss,  
 When pressed to Silvia's lips with gentle kiss!  
 And when her tender fingers round thee move  
 In soft embrace I listen and approve  
 Those melting notes which soothe my soul in love.  
 Embalmed with odours from her breath that flow  
 You yield your music when she's pleased to blow;  
 And thus at once the charming lovely fair  
 Delights with sounds, with sweet perfumes the air.  
 Go, happy pipe, and ever mindful be  
 To court bewitching Silvia for me;  
 Tell all I feel—you cannot tell too much—  
 Repeat my love at each soft melting touch—  
 Since I to her my liberty resign,  
 Take thou the care to tune her heart to mine.

The flute was not destined to woo the lady for the Midlothian suitor, however, for when Lady Susanna's father consulted the Earl of Eglinton regarding the matter, "bide a wee, Sir Archie," said his lordship, "my wife's very sickly." Sir Archibald took the hint, the Countess died, the baronet of Penicuik had to stand aside, and the lady in due time became the Countess of Eglinton.

The literary and other tributes to Countess Susanna are many and unmistakable in their earnestness and sincerity. It was to her that Allan Ramsay dedicated "The Gentle Shepherd."

"I am sure of vast numbers," he wrote, "that will crowd into your ladyship's opinion, and think it

an honour to agree in their sentiments with the Countess of Eglinton, whose penetration, superior wit, and sound judgment shine with an uncommon lustre, while accompanied with the diviner charms of goodness and equality of mind. . . . Were I to begin with your ladyship's honourable birth and alliance, the field is ample, and presents us with numberless great and good patriots that have dignified the names of Kennedy and Montgomerie ; be that the care of the herald and historian. It is personal merit and the heavenly sweetness of the fair that inspire the tuneful lays. Here every Lesbia must be excepted, whose tongues give liberty to the slaves which their eyes had made captive ; such may be flattered ; for whilst you are possessed with every outward charm in the most perfect degree, the never fading beauties of wisdom and piety, which adorn your ladyship's mind, command attention."

William Hamilton of Bangour, a man of many accomplishments and a cultured poet, commended "The Gentle Shepherd" in an address to the Countess, in which he eulogises both her ladyship and her fair daughters. He refers to the evil passions indulged in by many, and then proceeds to draw the contrast :

Unlike, O Eglinton ! thy happy breast,  
 Calm and serene enjoys the heavenly guest ;  
 From the tumultuous rule of passions freed,  
 Pure in thy thought, and spotless in thy deed ;  
 In virtues rich, in goodness unconfined,  
 Thou shin'st a fair example to thy kind ;  
 Sincere and equal to thy neighbour's name,  
 How swift to praise ! How guileless to defame !  
 Bold in thy presence bashfulness appears,  
 And backward merit loses all its fears.  
 Supremely blest by Heav'n, Heav'n's richest grace  
 Confest is thine, an early blooming race,  
 Whose pleasing smiles shall guardian wisdom arm,  
 Divine instruction, taught of thee, to charm ;  
 What transports shall thy soul impart  
 (The conscious transports of a parent's heart),

When thou behold'st them of each grace possesst,  
And sighing youths imploring to be blest ;  
After thy image form'd, with charms like thine,  
Or in the visit, or the dance to shine !  
Thrice happy who succeed their mother's praise,  
The lovely Eglintons of other days.

And many years after these, and other tributes such as these, were written, when the Countess was a majestic and a stately old lady of eighty-five, dwelling in the house of Auchans, Boswell found her figure majestic, her manners high bred, her reading extensive, her conversation elegant, and she delighted Dr. Johnson with the charm and the graciousness of the reception that she extended to him. When she said good bye to the great lexicographer she embraced him, remarking that she was old enough to be his mother, and that she adopted him ; and this crowning mark of her esteem and affection made a deep impression on Johnson's mind.

Others spoke for the Countess in many ways. The Edinburgh folks thronged to see her and her bevy of pretty daughters going forth to those social functions of which they were the ornament. " The Eglinton air " became a synonym for everything that savoured of grace and of dignity. She shone at the Court of England during a short stay that she made in the metropolis. The Queen of George II. showed her " honour and civilities ;" and a Scottish gentleman, writing of this experience of her ladyship in 1730, testified that " she had done her country more honour than any lady he had ever seen, both by a genteel and a prudent behaviour." But the Countess Susanna speaks for herself in her correspondence, in a series of letters that reveal not only her intellectuality but the mainsprings of her life. As has been said, Lord Milton, the Lord Justice Clerk, had been appointed by the Earl of Eglinton guardian of his children, and between him and the Countess a correspondence was carried on that indicates how anxious the Lord Justice Clerk was to do his duty by his charge, and how highly the Countess

appreciated his endeavours. Her letters evince in a very striking way the sort of education that in these days was thought good enough for even women in the highest walks of society. It was not even material that they should be able to spell decently. In spite of the faulty spelling, however, the letters of the Countess reveal the high qualities of an exceptionally cultured mind. Many more extracts of the same character might have been added, but those that follow will suffice to give some insight into the workings of the mind of the Countess Susanna, and they illustrate the excellent terms on which she lived with the guardian of her family.

Replying, June 2, 1729, to a letter from Lord Milton, the Countess writes :—

“ I wish I was that philosopher you call me ; I thank you for the bantter ; but the next stepe to that perfection is to know I am not. I confess I bild castles in the air, and that the destruction of anie one of thes imaginarie joys wou’d occasion reall woe. I know too, at the same time, that to bee hapie, expectation shou’d be low, ambition humble, and love quite out of dors ; here is a lesson for your strength of reason. Abbilitys such as min shou’d be pittied.”

Seriously concerned for the illness of one of her daughters, she writes, September 30, 1729 :—

“ My own thoughts are so perplex’d at present that there tiresome to myself. My daughter’s conteenou’d illness give me sencible pain. It’s a hard task, my lord, to submite to fatall necessity, when the softest affections of the heart oppose themselvs too it ; indead, she deservs verie well, but she will bee much better. It’s I am to be pittied. Hope ! what art thou but a dilusive dream ; a toy given us by Nature to steal from us our preasent moments ? Forgive my complaining ; it’s natural,



and the privalege of friendship. . . . Pray make complements to me for my friends, and be just in believing that I am that verie thing I wou'd be thought. Adiew."

Later the same year the Countess tells the Lord Justice Clerk of the continued illness of her daughter Ellie. The Doctor had ordered her to Bath, and her mother is anxious to follow his advice—"the justification of having done my dutie will fortifie my fainting speerits"—but Lord Milton is long in writing, and she rallies him upon the causes of his negligence :—

"I have allmost broke my head with conjectors about the caus of your silence. Was I your mistress, jealoucie had broke my heart! What is the matter with you? Is it business or love that has ingross'd you so entirelie? Are you such an arand husban that you won't write to anie woman but your own dear spous? I won't poote you out of conceit with that prittie singular notion, but bege that you'll love me for her sake, and remember that I'm her cusin and your humble servant. Adieu.

"This is my third letter without anie ansuer.

" 'There is no hate like love to hatred turned,  
No annie furie like a woman scorn'd.' "

In place of going to Bath the Countess appears to have taken her daughter to Moffat. Lord Milton must have made amends for his dilatoriness, but her ladyship cannot refrain from thinking about it :—

"I assure you my own thoughts are at present so much imploy'd about the caus of your silence that they seldom turn upon anie thing els. Sure I have never done anie thing to deserve this punishment; if I had, black ingratitude wou'd darken everie dawn of joy. No, my lord, I am quite incapable of forgetting the manie evidences of friendship I have had from

you. I regrate that it's onlie in thanks I can repay you. Gratitude is the gift of the heart ; that I offer you in my sentiments perpetuallie."

In the summer of 1730 the Countess, writing again to Lord Milton, is found indulging in some reflections on the value of philosophy :—

" I alluays thought your just notions of men and things wou'd naturallie lead you to the contemplation of philosophy, who's charms are so engaging that nature is her guid, and fortune and pleasure her companions. I long to talke with you upon this subject, looking upon it as a sement to freindshiipe, as it is a rectifier of the human minde. In one word, thos hes most of the phylosopher is nearest to perfection. Retirement, I doe oun, is the wise man's choice ; but it's an ambition, not onlie just but noble, to persue the honest calls either of fortune or of glorie ; here phylosophy teaches us that persuit, with such moderation of desire as not to lose in the interim all relish of our present condition, but content our selvs with what we are, from the prospect of what we hope to be ; here the bitterness of adversity loses its tast, and prosperity is less to be envied then peace of minde and tranquility."

In the autumn of the same year her ladyship went to Bath with her daughter, but the latter did not reap the benefit anticipated from the waters, and their stay was short. On their return to London in the winter the Countess was very graciously received at Court, and her reception by the Earl of Isla seems to have been of far too favourable a character to meet with the approval of Lord Milton, and to have provoked a remonstrance. In reply the Countess wrote :—

" Whey do you hint a posability of a change in my life befor I see you ? I'm sorie you think in that way of me. No, my lord, my passions hes not that



power over me as to make me forfet your good opinion, which must be the consiquence, and such a one as no temptation hes the power of drawing me into. I know the vallow of your frindshipe; I know, too, my debet of obligation; the first I'll preserve with all the assiduatie I'm capable of; the last I'll return with unlimited gratitude. Cou'd I offer mor, my heart is capable of it."

The same strain of clear, high, pure thinking runs through all the correspondence of this remarkable woman. It abounds with passages such as these:—

"All I can pretend to doe is to preserve his (her son's) nature by keeping his minde pure and untainted, and giving him just ideas of moral life.

"Forgiveness is the perpetuall attendant of sinceir affection."

"Experience has taught me that reason is too weak when opposed to violent grieff. Alas! how unexpected are the stroaks of fortune! How little do we know what time is pregnant with! Good indeed it is for us that we do not, since it would only be antisipating our woes."

"I indeavour to extract this good from all that happens, to learn patience, which without doubet in time improves the understanding."

"Surely Britain never (in my days) was in such circumstances. I realie think the fire of Mr. Pitt's temper has consum'd his understanding."

"Fortitude and reason may restrain our complaints, but they do not make us unfeeling. . . . Often do I say to myselfe, what does length of days signifie? It only serves to accumulate our woes."

"Life is often prolonged for mortifications. I meet with manie."

The Countess Susanna spent the closing years of her life at Auchans, where she maintained great state

From the time her husband died she had treated her eldest son with the dignity that she conceived to be due to his rank. Though he was but a boy, she always addressed him as Lord Eglinton, and every day he formally led his mother to the dinner table. She had great comfort in him when he grew up to manhood; and his death at the hands of an exciseman whom he had encountered trespassing in pursuit of game she never wholly recovered from. A woman of active temperament, she started and carried on for years a brewery within the area of Cromwell's fort in Ayr. With all her suavity and tact of demeanour, she could nevertheless, when she thought occasion required it, express herself forcibly. A certain Major had "mall-treated" her. "As," she writes, "his faults are not like a gentleman, I hope to have an opportunity of treating him like a scoundral." And when her step-daughter, the only child of the second Countess, married against her will, "Your marriage," she writes, "can never have mine nor no bodies approbation. Good God! what have you don, that you talk of the necessity of ever thinking of such a deed of madness?"

One more trait in the Countess Susanna's character must be added. When she was living at Auchans she made a practice of taming and making pets of rats, which abounded in the old mansion. Many of these were obedient to her call. At stated hours she would summon them by tapping upon the wall, and they would troop out to partake of food which her ladyship had ready for them. The meal over, the favoured but odious creatures would scamper off into their holes with great alacrity upon receiving the order to go. From the rats the Countess thought she obtained gratitude; an experience she believed to be exceptional, and very rare in her dealings with the human species.

Her ladyship, who retained her stateliness of mien, her symmetry of figure, and even the brilliance of her beautiful complexion—said to have been due to the fact that she never used paint or cosmetic, but daily

washed her face with sow's milk—died March 18, 1780, in the ninety-first year of her age and the fifty-first of her widowhood. In the best sense she was indeed a remarkable woman.

Alexander, the tenth Earl, was but six years of age when he succeeded his father, February 18, 1729. He began his school career in Irvine, in company with his brother Archibald. From Irvine they went to Haddington; from Haddington, in 1738, to England, the Earl to Winchester, Archibald to Eton. Of the two the former was much the better student, giving himself with great diligence to the work of the school and earning the highest approbation of his preceptors. In 1740 he manifested a strong desire to leave Winchester—where latterly his brother had joined him—because, as he wrote to Lord Milton, “he had now served a very long apprenticeship to literature and was very desirous to enter jurnyman,” and because he was so tall that he was “quite ashamed to be seen” at school. Two years later he went to Paris and entered on the exercises of dancing, riding, and fencing. In these he notably excelled, profiting, according to Michael Ramsay, his governor, “as much for the time as any young gentleman whatever, and more than any ever I knew.” He had a somewhat expensive aptitude for antiques, or curiosities, which involved him in considerable expense and brought upon him the remonstrances of Lord Milton; but, as it had not, at the time of the complaining, amounted to more than £100, his passion does not appear to have led him any very extravagant length. In 1753, when he was resident in London, Lord Milton again remonstrated with him on the score of the expense he was incurring, and this elicited a very humorous reply, that indicates, as also do other letters, that he had inherited a good deal of the gift of correspondence possessed in so high a measure by his mother the Countess Susanna. In place of thinking he had lived beyond his means, he was rather astonished at his own moderation, his expenditure over the year having only amounted to £1800. He had

approached Lord Milton with a request to advance him additional funds. To this the Lord Justice Clerk had demurred, no doubt from a sincere desire to inculcate the virtues of economy upon the Earl, and to teach him the wisdom of conducting his financial matters upon a strict business footing.

Having dealt with Lord Milton's remonstrance, the Earl thus proceeds to elucidate "a scheme just come into his head":—

"Does your lordship think one cou'd not raise a little money by writing a book upon the merits of starving, shewing the great benefits that arise from this to mankind in generall, as well as to individuals, by preserving ancient families, producing many great poets, philosophers, and artists? For this work (like other projectors) I think myself highly qualified, having been starv'd into a moral philosopher, and am now turned author. I beg you will speak to Lady Milton and the young ladies to take in subscriptions for me, and that you will be so good as to give the money to Mr. John M'Kenzie of Delvin, who is to correct the work and write notes upon it. The whole will consist of—1. A treatise upon friendship, entitled *He that spareth the rod hateth the child*. 2. An eulogium upon poverty, by which it is clearly proved that necessity is the mother of invention, and starving the foundation of morality, religion, temperance, health, agility, economy, generosity, &c. 3. The Tragedy of Lent, to which will be added (by way of farce) the analogy between poverty and chymistry, or the beau turn'd chymist, and the chymist beau. *Dramatis Personæ*—Mr. Make Gold and My Lord Spend Gold. The whole to be published upon a fine imperial stamp'd paper or parchment, in a capital letter, by the first of June, which is the day my taylor's bill becomes due. If your lordship cannot get my subscription full by that time, I must sell my book to Edmond Curle, or some of those rascals about



White's, who tho' they can hardly read, are extraordinary calculators upon joint lives. 'Tis pity so excellent a work shou'd fall into such hands, but necessity has no law, and an author cannot starve, even tho' he has none but himself to blame."

That Lord Milton's reasoning with the Earl regarding his extravagance was not by any means unwarranted is evident from the following account of an absurd horse race, taken from a letter, of date 1748, written by Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, to Baron Mure, and illustrative in its way of the reckless fashion in which large sums of money were in those days foolishly staked:—

" We had a race yesterday between Lord Eglinton and Mr. Charters. They rid themselves: Mr. Charters rid Lady Katy's pad, which had cost a good deal of money, and Lord Eglinton his stable drudge, worth about fifty shillings. They did not gallop, but only pace. This you may imagine was a very sorry race. However, Charters, who lost it, I believe does not think so, for it cost him five hundred pounds sterling, and a ball to the company besides."

The Earl is not to be judged, however, on the characteristics that are emphasised in these letters; for he was at once honourable and upright, generous, and warm-hearted—attributes that are brought out in his letters to other members of the family, and in the strong stand he made to have justice done by some of his friends who were alleged to have compounded with a gang of smugglers, but who, in place of compounding, had opposed the smugglers fearlessly, one of them having brought the composition offered into the Custom House, and another been almost beaten to death because he would not compound, and been "carried off the field of battle for dead." The same good sense and kindly feeling are manifested towards his brother Archibald, in a letter to him on the eve of an intended

duel—a duel that does not seem to have taken place, or from which, if it did, no serious consequences ensued. The letter, which is not dated, runs as follows :—

“ Dear Archy—I have just had a chalange from Mr. Bathurst ; for what reason, I declare I know not, except it is my horse runs faster than his. As I have heard these soart of things even put you warlike gentlemen in a little flurry, I need not be ashamed to own that I am afraid my letter may not be wrot with all the presision I would wish. However, on this occasion I hope you will take the will for the deed, and do honour to my memory, and the friendship which has allways subsisted between us, to execute, as far as you can, what I should have done had I had time.

. . . “ I could wish M. Ramsay and J. Wright had each of them a hundred a year settled on them for life ; and that my old servant, Charles Crookshanks, had five hundred guineas down, to stock a farm for him. This is all I have to say, except to advise you never to be a tule to any Ministry, and never to make a bet with any one you have the least regard for. If I am not much mistaken, there are a great many people who feel as much resentment for losing their money, as any gentlemanly sort of man feels pleasure in winning.”

To this letter the Earl added the laconic postscript—  
 “ Don’t neglect horse-howing if you love Scotland.”  
 His lordship had taken, as he continued to take till the close of his life, the greatest interest in the development of agriculture in Ayrshire. He had found the agricultural conditions on his own estates, as well as elsewhere in the county, almost primitive. Colonel Fullarton of Fullarton gives a lamentable description of them in his *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Ayr*, 1793. “ Forty years ago,” he says, “ there was hardly a practicable road in the county.

The farmhouses were mere hovels, moated with clay, having an open hearth or fireplace in the middle ; the dunghill at the door ; the cattle starving ; and the people wretched. The few ditches that existed were ill-constructed, and the hedges worse preserved. The land overrun with weeds and rushes, gathered into very high, broad, serpentine ridges, interrupted with large baulks such as still disgrace the agriculture of some English counties. The little soil there was collected on the top of the ridge, and the furrow drowned with water. No fallows, no green crops, no sown grass, no carts or waggons, no strawyards ; hardly a potato or any other esculent root, and, indeed, no garden vegetables ; unless a few Scotch kail, which, with milk and oatmeal, formed the diet of the people." The Earl set his hand to the work of reform. He travelled near and far to learn what could be done ; he familiarised himself with the march of improvement in the Lothians and elsewhere ; beginning at home he traversed and examined every part of his extensive estates, and himself arranged the divisions and marches of the farms ; he introduced as tenants men of enlightened and progressive minds ; he brought from East Lothian a noted pioneer in the person of Mr. Wight of Ormiston ; he established a Farmers' Society in Ayrshire and presided over it himself ; and generally lost no opportunity of promoting the new and the better order and bringing the county into the first line of agricultural progress. The laconic postscript to the letter, therefore, can easily be understood in the light of these facts. By the " horse-howing " the Earl meant the cleaning of drilled turnips by means of cleaners, or scrapers, drawn by horses, instead of by the old-fashioned method of hand howing or hand weeding.

Ayrshire had to thank the Earl for much good work. He took an active part in its public business, and beyond the bounds of the county he found useful scope for his great energies. In 1759 he was appointed Governor of Dumbarton Castle. On the accession of George III. he

was made one of His Majesty's Lords of the Bed-chamber, and held the position for seven years. It was largely due to his exertions that the Scotch Banks had the right taken away from them of delaying payment of their notes for six months after their presentation. He was a representative Peer for Scotland, but he would much rather have been a Commoner and sat in the House of Commons, and he went so far as to drop for a time the title of Earl of Eglinton and call himself Mr. Alexander Montgomerie. He took the opinion of eminent counsel with the object of seeing whether he could not get quit of his peerage, but found it impossible; and, reconciling himself to the inevitable, he made the best of the opportunities offered to him in the House of Lords, to which he was returned by his fellow Peers in 1761, and again in 1768.

The career of the Earl had a lamentable and a sudden ending. On the 24th of October, 1769, he was shot by an exciseman named Mungo Campbell, whom he had caught poaching on his lands at Ardrossan. He had previously forgiven Campbell for the same offence on his promise not to repeat it; and he insisted on his giving up his gun, with the result that Campbell shot him. The nature and circumstances of the encounter are brought out in the indictment upon which Campbell was tried :—

“ Whereas by the law of God, and the laws of this and every other well-governed realm, murder, or the feloniously bereaving any of His Majesty's subjects of their lives, is a most atrocious crime, and severely punishable; yet true it is and of verity that you, the said Mungo Campbell, have presumed to commit, and are guilty, actor or art and part, of the said crime; in so far as the deceased Alexander, Earl of Eglinton having, upon the 24th day of October, in this present year 1769, gone out from his house of Eglinton, in the county of Ayr, in his coach, to look at some grounds, and being told by one of his servants

when upon the road from Saltcoats to Southennan, within the parish of Ardrossan and said county of Ayr, that he observed two persons, one of them with a gun, at a small distance, upon his lordship's ground of Ardrossan; the said deceased Earl (who by advertisement in the newspapers had forbid all unqualified persons to kill game within his estate) came out of his coach unarmed, and mounted a horse, which was led by his servant, and leaving in his coach an unloaded gun, he rode towards the two persons who in the meantime went off the Earl's ground of Ardrossan into the adjacent sands; and he having come near to the two persons on the said sands and discovering the one with the gun to be you the said Mungo Campbell, he accosted you by saying, 'Mr. Campbell, I did not expect to have found you so soon upon my grounds after the promise you made me when I last caught you, when you had shot a hare.' And the Earl having thereupon desired you to deliver your gun to him, you refused to do so; and upon the Earl's approaching towards you, you cocked your gun, and presented or pointed it at him; and upon the Earl's then saying, 'Sir, will you shoot me?' you answered that you would if his lordship did not keep off. To which the Earl replied that, if he had his gun, he could shoot pretty well too, or used words to that import; and desired a servant to bring his gun from the coach, which was then at some distance; and the Earl having dismounted and walked towards you, leading his horse in his hand (without arms or offensive weapons of any kind), you retired or stepped backwards as he approached, and continued to point your gun at him, desiring his lordship again to keep off, or by God you would shoot him; and a servant near to the Earl having begged you, for God's sake, to deliver your gun, you again refused, saying you had a right to carry a gun; to which Lord Eglinton answered that you might have a right to carry a gun, but not upon his estate without his liberty; but

you still persisted in refusing to deliver your gun ; and by striking your foot against a small stone, having fallen upon your back when retiring, and keeping your gun pointed at Lord Eglinton, as above described, the muzzle of your gun came thereby to be altered in the direction from Lord Eglinton, and to be pointed near straight upwards ; and Lord Eglinton, who was only distant from you two or three yards, having stopped or stood still, upon your falling, you, as soon as you could recover yourself, and resting upon your arm or elbow, aimed or pointed your gun at the said Alexander, Earl of Eglinton, and wickedly and feloniously fired at him, then standing unarmed, smiling at your accidental fall ; and by the shot he was wounded in the belly in a dreadful manner, the whole lead shot in the gun having been thrown into his bowels ; of which wound the said Alexander, Earl of Eglinton died that night about twelve o'clock. And you, the said Mungo Campbell, after perpetrating so wicked, cruel, and barbarous a crime, did immediately run to one of Lord Eglinton's servants, who had brought his gun from his coach, and was standing at some distance, and did endeavour to wrest the gun from him, but was prevented by the assistance of another servant ; and when the two servants were engaged with you, defending the gun, and endeavouring to secure you, the Earl, who was then sitting on the ground, called to the servants ' to secure the man, for he had shot him, but not to use him ill,' or used words to that purpose and effect ; and upon your being brought near to Lord Eglinton, he said to yourself, ' Campbell, I would not have shot you.' "

Such is the unvarnished tale, officially told, of this distressful tragedy. The defence was not an attempt to disprove the crime itself, but to extenuate the circumstances that led up to it. It was ten minutes to twelve o'clock at night when the prosecuting counsel



began his address to the jury, and he spoke for an hour and three-quarters. The leading defending advocate rose to reply at twenty-five minutes to two, and closed his speech at four o'clock. The Lord Justice Clerk, who presided, contented himself with pointing out that the whole case depended on the credibility of the witnesses, and he left the jury to judge of that for themselves. The Court adjourned at ten minutes past four in the morning to meet in the evening at six o'clock, when, by nine votes to six, Campbell was found guilty. The morning after the trial he committed suicide in his cell. It was difficult to convince a large section of the public that he had not been allowed to escape and to flee the country, through the powerful influence of his friends. For his father was Provost of Ayr, and was a man apparently, not only of influence, but of considerable force of character. Campbell's body was given to his friends, who had it privately buried under Salisbury Crag, but the Edinburgh rabble discovered the grave, took out the body, and tossed it about till they were tired. To prevent further indecency and outrage the corpse was taken out in a boat and sunk in the sea.

It only remains to be added that, at the time of his death, the Earl was engaged to be married to Jean, daughter of Sir John Maxwell of Pollok-Maxwell, widow of James Montgomerie of Lainshaw. A remarkable coincidence in connection with his death is that on the day that he was shot the servant at Pollok-Maxwell announced to the family that he had seen him walking upstairs to the bedroom that he occupied when visiting the home of his betrothed. Search was made for him, it need hardly be added, without result. The appearance at Pollok-Maxwell coincided with the hour at which the Earl had been shot.

On the death of his brother in 1769, Archibald, born 1726, became eleventh Earl of Eglinton. As has been said, he was not quite such a diligent scholar as his brother. The school ledger of Eton contained such entries as these—"Redeeming his grammar and lexicon

from the birch desk, threepence ;” “ paid the glazier for six squares in his room, 1s ;” and “ his share being two fourteenth parts for repairing the roof of the little house which had been twice demolished by the boys, 4s ;” but on the other hand he had received a shilling from the headmaster, Dr. Andrew Graham, “ as a reward for making a piece of Latin much better than I expected,” as time went on he became “ abundantly more diligent,” and although he never could be got to enjoy the drudgery of grammar rules and parsing, he liked geography, and finally “ left behind him the character of a sensible, ingenious, manly, well-behav’d boy.” His education finished, he entered the Army in 1744, his regiment being the Scots Greys. The same year he obtained a Captain’s commission by purchase ; in 1751 he obtained the majority of the 36th Regiment of Foot ; in 1757 he raised the 78th Regiment of Highlanders and was appointed their Lieut.-Colonel. With this regiment he went to America and distinguished himself in active service, notably in reducing the fierce Cherokees to subjection. In 1761 he had a double return to Parliament, for the county of Ayr and for the Wigtown Burghs, and elected to sit for the county. He was one of the Queen’s equerries, Governor of Dumbarton Castle, Deputy-Ranger of St. James’s and Hyde Parks, and, 1767, Colonel of the Fifty-first Regiment of Foot. In 1776 he was chosen a representative Peer for Scotland, and was re-elected at the General Elections of 1780, 1784, and 1790. In 1782 he was appointed Governor of Edinburgh Castle, and in 1795 Colonel of the Scots Greys. On his accession to the Earldom he was assiduous in carrying out the policy of agricultural reform begun by his brother. He redivided his lands, abolished the small farms, relet the larger ones that he created on new principles, built new and commodious steadings, and established a system of rotation of cropping. His lordship, who died 1796, at the age of seventy-three, lived a full and a useful life that was productive of much practical good.

The Earl was twice married. His first wife, to whom he was wedded in 1772, was Lady Jean Lindsay, eldest daughter of the eighteenth Earl of Crawford. When the Countess died without issue, six years afterwards, her age was but twenty-one. Judging her from her epitaph, she appears to have been a woman of an exceptionally fine character :—

Blest with each native grace, each gentle art,  
That charms the eye, and captivates the heart ;  
The sense of age, warm'd with the glow of youth,  
And sage discretion, joined to manly truth ;  
Polite, yet artless ; simple, though refined ;  
Her form all grace, all harmony her mind,  
Where sober wisdom, radiant wit, conspire,  
A virgin's softness and a seraph's fire ;  
All that the sage reveres, the youth admires,  
What reason dictates, what the Muse inspires.  
Her modest virtues, in a low estate  
Had drawn respect, but dignify'd a great,  
Conspicuous plac'd in a licentious age,  
To stem the torrent and repress the rage  
Of vice. A fair example, lent, not given ;  
Alas, too soon recall'd to native Heav'n !  
Her drooping lord and mourning parents join  
With mutual sorrows to inscribe her shrine.

By his second wife, Frances, only daughter of Sir William Twisden, of Raydonhall, Kent, to whom he was married in 1783, the Earl had two daughters. Lady Mary, the elder, born 1787, married, 1803, Archibald Lord Montgomerie, eldest son of Hugh, twelfth Earl of Eglinton ; Lady Susanna, the younger, died unmarried at the age of eighteen.

The Earl dying without male issue, the Earldom passed to Hugh, the son of Alexander Montgomerie of Coilsfield, who was the son of Hugh Montgomerie, son of Colonel James Montgomerie, first of Coilsfield, the fourth son of Alexander, sixth Earl of Eglinton. The twelfth Earl was born 29th November, 1739. He entered the Army in 1756 and saw considerable service in America, where he spent seven years. When the war broke out with France in 1788 he was raised to the rank

of Major. It is told that, when he returned from America he was somewhat annoyed by the fond persistency of his mother, who could never hear enough of the toils and perils of the war. On one occasion, more than usually teased, he replied good humouredly—" 'Deed, mother, to tell the truth, the greatest difficulty and annoyance I experienced was when, endeavouring to clear a fence, I happened to leap into a close column of very long nettles"—a minor trouble, no doubt, but still an unpleasant experience for a man with kilts on. With his military functions he combined those of a Member of Parliament, being returned for Ayrshire in 1780 and again at the General Election of 1784. The Earl was the "sodger Hugh" of Burns's "Earnest Cry and Prayer to the Scottish Representatives of the House of Commons," in which the poet eulogises the gallantry of the warrior, though at the expense of his powers of oratory :—

See, Sodger Hugh, my watchman stented  
 If bardies e'er are represented ;  
 I ken if that your sword were wanted  
     Ye'd lend a hand,  
 But when there's aught to say anent it,  
     Ye're at a stand.

In the "Brigs of Ayr" the poet again refers to the gallant laird of Coilsfield :—

Next followed Courage, with his martial stride,  
 From where the Feal wild woody coverts hide.

In 1789 the Colonel was appointed Inspector of Military Roads in Scotland, and resigned his seat in the House of Commons. To his new duties he devoted himself with conspicuous and useful zeal. He traversed a great part of the Highlands on foot, selected the best available routes for roads, and by careful survey of the natural advantages and disadvantages of the country succeeded in saving a large sum of money by having the roads made so as to obviate the building of unnecessary bridges. When the war broke out in 1793

he was appointed by the Duke of Argyll to the Colonelcy of the Argyllshire Fencibles, and raised the West Lowland Fencibles, of which he was Colonel. Afterwards he raised the Glasgow Regiment of Fencibles, which, however, was reduced in 1795. He was also Lieut.-Governor of Edinburgh Castle. In 1796 he was again returned to Parliament as Member for Ayrshire, but the death of the eleventh Earl, and his accession to the Earldom, compelled his almost immediate resignation. He experienced a keen disappointment in 1798, when, on the landing of 7000 French troops in Ireland to support the Rebellion, the large majority of the West Lowland Fencibles refused to leave Scotland. He had appointed William Mure of Caldwell to the Colonelcy, and that gallant officer tendered his resignation, refusing to remain in command of men who "declined going to where the enemy are, and resolved to await the enemy's coming to them." In 1798, and again at the General Election of 1802, his lordship was chosen as one of the representative Scottish Peers, and in 1806 he was created a Peer of the United Kingdom, by the title of Baron Ardrossan of Ardrossan. He was Lord Lieutenant of the County of Ayr, a State Councillor for Scotland to the Prince Regent, and a Knight of the Thistle. In relation to the Green Ribbon, vacant through the death of the Duke of Queensberry, his lordship showed his characteristic independence. He put in a claim to it, and left matters to take their course. "Not the least interested about it," he wrote, "I made no application to any man on earth on the subject," and his appointment came as a surprise to him. He accepted the honour with gratitude. "I must observe, however, that I would not have done so had it been on any other footing" than the free gift of the Crown. "I am no party man. My attachment was to His Royal Highness's royal person, and from His Royal Highness I received it, and am under no obligation to any Minister or individual whatever." His reception of the coveted honour was none the less gratifying to him.

The Earl, soon after his accession, rebuilt the Castle of Eglinton, and greatly extended and beautified the pleasure grounds. He took a great pride in his policies, and was jealous of unauthorised persons trespassing upon them. On one occasion he found daft Will Spiers, a noted "natural" of the district, and a privileged haunter of the castle, taking a short cut through the grounds, and climbing a fence, and called on him to "come back, sir, that is not the road." "D'ye ken," was Will's reply, "whaur I'm gaun?" "No," said the Earl. "Weel, hoo the deil d'ye ken whether this be the road or no?"

Another day he caught a trespassing boy climbing a tree, and ordered him to come down. This the boy declined to do, alleging that he would beat him. The Earl assured him, on his honour, that he would do nothing of the kind. "I dinna ken onything about your honour," replied the boy, "but if ye say as sure as death, I'll come down." Satisfied on this point, the boy descended.

With a keen eye to the prosperity of the district, as well as the bettering of his estate, the Earl formed a Company for the construction of Ardrossan Harbour and of the Paisley Canal, which he anticipated would act as a feeder to the port. The foundation stone of the harbour was laid on 30th July, 1806, and it was completed about 1819. The canal, however, was only formed as far as Johnstone. The Earl spent a vast sum of money in the promotion of the enterprise, which was supported neither by the Government nor by the public as he had expected it to be. The harbour, none the less, remains to this day, a monument to his enterprise and foresight, and a factor in the prosperity of the district which has proved of unspeakable advantage to it in almost every direction. Throughout the county, and by all classes of the community, the Earl was very highly esteemed. He identified himself with the social life of the shire. He patronised and encouraged the leading musicians, specially the violinists, and when three or four of these



were bidden to Eglinton to contribute their share to the abounding hospitalities of the castle it afforded him a keen pleasure to join the orchestra, and to play the fiddle, on which he was no mean performer. For violins he had a penchant, and made a collection of good instruments, which, after his death, were distributed among his old friends and friends of the family. The Earl had the gift of song-writing, and for many years his "Ayrshire Lasses" was a popular marching tune. After his death his portrait was placed in the County Hall, where it still remains, not less a tribute to the skill of the artist than to the universal regard which the Earl inspired among all classes of the community.

The Earl married, June, 1772, his cousin, Eleonora, fourth and youngest daughter of Robert Hamilton of Bourtreehill, by whom he had three sons and three daughters. Of the sons, Roger, the second, was a midshipman in the Royal Navy, and died at Port Royal, Jamaica, 1799, unmarried, and the third, Alexander, died young. The eldest daughter, Lady Jane, married Archibald Hamilton of Carcluie, and was long esteemed for her many considerations to the community of Ayr and district. "Lady Jane Hamilton's" is still one of the schools of the county town. The second, Lady Lilius, was twice married: first, to Robert Dundas Macqueen of Braxfield, Lanarkshire, and, second, to Richard Alexander Oswald of Auchencruive. Mr. Oswald died 1841 at Vevey, in Switzerland, where also Lady Lilius died, 1845, and where she was buried in the same grave with her husband. Lady Mary, the third daughter, died young and unmarried. The Countess died 1817, in the seventy-fifth year of her age, the Earl in 1819, aged eighty years.

The Earl's eldest son, Archibald Lord Montgomerie, was born 30th July, 1773. He entered the Army as ensign in the 42nd Regiment, was afterwards appointed Lieut.-Colonel of the Glasgow Regiment, raised by his father, but reduced in 1795; was Colonel of the Ayrshire Militia, from which he retired 1807, was promoted to

the rank of Major-General in 1809, and was employed on active service in Sicily in 1812 and 1813. For a time he represented the King at the Court of Palermo. Ill-health compelled him to leave Italy, and he died at Alicante, 1814, to the great grief of his aged father, and was buried in the Convent Chapel at Gibraltar. The epitaph on his grave is believed to have been written by Canning. A portion of it is as follows :—

Of Caledonia's land the grace,  
 Chief scion of an ancient race,  
 Of Eglinton the hope and boast,  
 Belov'd, admir'd, and early lost ;  
 From life and all its blessings torn,  
 And here by weeping strangers borne,  
 Montgomerie, model for the brave,  
 Was destined for this foreign grave ;  
 Sternly refused the wish'd-for blow,  
 By cruel death ! insidious foe !  
 He fell by slow disease and pain,  
 Oh ! why not on the battle plain ?  
 Why ! why ! denied his ardent claim  
 To die the soldier's death of fame ?

. . . . .  
 Mourners he hushed, he shared the fate  
 Of many a gallant chief and great.  
 But, soldier ! thou may'st shed a tear,  
 Thy leader and thy friend lies here.  
 If thus a soldier's tear may seek  
 The war-worn furrow in his cheek ;  
 And strangers feel the mournful gloom  
 That wraps Montgomerie's timeless tomb.

By the marriage, 1803, of Lord Montgomerie with Lady Mary Montgomerie, only surviving daughter of Archibald, eleventh Earl of Eglinton, and heiress of the large estates acquired by her grandfather, the male and female lines of the family were united. Lady Mary, according to her cousin-germain, the Lord Chief Baron Macdonald, was “most properly of opinion that the marriage should not take place till she should have completed her sixteenth year.” Of this marriage there were four sons. The first and second survived but a few hours. The third, Hugh Lord Montgomerie, born

1811, died in 1817, and his grandfather erected to his memory a marble monument in Eglinton Park which bears this touching inscription :—

TO THE MEMORY OF HIS BELOVED GRANDSON,  
 HUGH,  
 WHO DIED THE 13TH JULY, 1817,  
 AT THE AGE OF SIX YEARS AND A FEW MONTHS ;  
 A CHILD OF PROMISE.  
 ON THIS SPOT, ONCE HIS LITTLE GARDEN,  
 THIS STONE IS ERECTED  
 BY HIS AFFLICTED AND DISCONSOLATE  
 GRANDFATHER,  
 HUGH, EARL OF EGLINTON.

The fourth son, Archibald William, lived to be thirteenth Earl of Eglinton. Lady Montgomerie married, 1815, Sir Charles Montolieu Lamb of Beauport, Bart., and died in 1848.

Archibald William, the thirteenth Earl of Eglinton, was born at Palermo, in Sicily, on the 29th September, 1812. His father dying when he was two years old, he was brought home and entrusted to the care of his grandfather, who, as has been said, died in 1819. The young Earl was educated at Eton.

The chief event in the earlier part of the Earl's life, and with which his name is still largely associated, was the famous Eglinton Tournament. His lordship cannot have been otherwise than a close student of the glories of the ancient chivalry. These, in their rude and somewhat semi-barbaric splendour, appealed to him, and he resolved to have them reproduced at home, amid the quiet glades of Eglinton and the placid beauties of the banks of the Lugton. To ensure the success of the great revival, the Earl spared no pains. Enthusiastic himself, he succeeded in enthusing others. The armourers of London went to work on a department in their industry to which the craft had long been strange, Europe was ransacked to add to the glories of the scene,

and the story of the three days of the Tournament reads like a chapter out of the history of the Middle Ages. There rose up amid the beautiful environs of the Castle a grand stand, brilliantly appointed, in the Grecian style of architecture, and other two stands only less commodious and less sumptuously decked. There was a gorgeous canopy for the Queen of Beauty (Lady Seymour), and all round were tents and marquees for the Knights, and spacious pavilions lighted when the evenings fell with chandeliers of antique fashion, and ornamented with the arms of the participants in the fray that took place in the lists without. Every phase of the old time chivalry was reproduced. When the grand procession that opened the Tournament held its route for the scene of the combats, men in arms walked in front, and behind them were musicians clad in silken costumes, trumpeters, pursuivants, halberdiers, heralds, and esquires. The Queen of Beauty was supported by a rich bevy of attendants, pages, esquires, and archers ; and the Jester in cap and bells walked in the throng and added to the realism of the reproduction. The Lord of the Tournament, the Earl of Eglinton himself, rode forth in a splendid suit of armour, and with him came the Knights of the Griffin, the Dragon, the Black Lion, the Dolphin, the Crane, the Ram, the Swan, the Golden Lion, the White Rose, the Stag's Head, the Burn Tower, the Red Rose, the Lion's Paw, the Knight of Gael, the Black Knight, and the Knight of the Border. Behind them came swordsmen and bowmen, seneschals, marshals and chamberlains. Many were the representatives of the old nobility who took part in that march. The houses whose pennons were borne into the lists included Saltoun and Kelburne, Blair and Hay, Hamilton and Cuninghame, Buchanan and Seymour, Craven and Waterford, Glenlyon and Cassillis, Cranstoun and Campbell, Beresford and Johnstone, and other families of note and of name ; and among them Prince Louis Napoleon, destined to sit on the throne of France and to pass from it into retirement when his time had come to

lay down the Imperial sceptre. Never had such a scene been witnessed in Scotland before. To view it there gathered a mighty concourse of spectators. They streamed in on foot from all the highways, the coaches came loaded with them, steamers deposited them at Irvine and Ardrossan, the recently opened railway to Ayr could not accommodate all who wished to travel by it. They overtaxed all the sleeping and lodging accommodation within miles. They came together from every part of Great Britain. The Continent of Europe contributed its quota. And round the lists they clustered deep to gaze upon a carnival the like of which had not been witnessed in Great Britain for many a long day.

There was nothing lacking in aught that the Earl of Eglinton had power to control to make the Tournament a success; but unfortunately he could not control the elements. On the opening day it looked as if the floodgates of heaven had been opened. The rain fell in torrents. The Knights made obeisance to the Queen of Beauty, the encounters were waged, the swords clashed amid a deluge. On the second day the marquees and pavilions were flooded, and though the skies were more merciful, there were occasional showers to temper the enthusiasm and to diminish the pleasure of the spectators, and minor conflicts in the list had to be substituted for the more attractive events that had been intended. On the third day the sun shone brightly, and the programme went forward without anything to mar the enjoyment. The Earl's hospitality was unbounded, the evening fetes under shelter of roof or canopy were brilliant, but probably the chief memory that remained with those who were present was the ceaseless downpour that marred the glories of the opening day. The Tournament is said to have cost the Earl £40,000, and a moderate estimate of the armour and dresses places their value at upwards of £100,000.

But the Earl's claims to be remembered do not depend on the Tournament. His lordship was a man

of many gifts and graces. He early associated himself with politics and took his place in the House of Lords, and when Sir Robert Peel, discarding Protection, became a Free Trader, he prominently identified himself with the Conservative party and became one of their staunchest adherents. In 1852, when the Earl of Derby was called on to form an Administration, he appointed the Earl of Eglinton Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. On his arrival in Dublin he was cordially welcomed by men of every shade of opinion, and he so comported himself as to win the esteem and admiration of the country. In November of the same year he was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University, and he afterwards filled the corresponding position in Marischal College, Aberdeen. On the return of the Earl of Derby to power in 1858 he resumed viceregal functions in Ireland, and the people, remembering his former popularity and the successes by which it had been earned, gave him on his arrival a hearty welcome. The good impression he had left behind helped him materially to open his second term, and when it closed and he left the Irish capital it was with general regret that the Irish people saw him go away. To the hereditary honours which he had already enjoyed he added others. The fifth Earl of Winton had been attainted in 1715 for his adherence to the Stuart cause, and the Earl of Eglinton established his right to be created Earl of Winton in the United Kingdom, and assumed the additional titles of Earl of Winton, Lord Seton, &c. His lordship was twice married. By his first wife, Theresa, daughter of Charles Newcomen, and widow of Richard Howe Cockerell, Commander, R.N., to whom he was wedded in 1841, he had three sons and one daughter. The eldest son, Archibald William, was born 1841; the second, Hon-Seton-Montolieu, in 1846; the third, George Arnulph, in 1848. The daughter, Lady Egidia, was born in 1843. The Countess Theresa died in 1853; and in 1858, at the Viceregal Lodge, Dublin, the Earl married Lady Adela Harriet Capel, daughter of Arthur Earl of Essex, by



whom he had two daughters. His lordship's services to the county of Ayr were many. He was for a time Colonel of the Ayrshire Militia, an office which he resigned on his appointment as Lord Lieutenant. He took an active part in the public business of the shire, proved himself an admirable landlord, identified himself prominently with all manly sports and functions that conduced to the general good, and so won his way into public regard and the affection of all classes that, on his death, a handsome statue to his memory was erected at Ayr facing the County Buildings. His lordship was made a Knight of the Thistle in 1853. He died suddenly, October 4, 1861, at Mount Melville, near St. Andrews.

Archibald William, fourteenth Earl, was born, as has been said, in 1841. He was educated at Eton and was for some time in the Royal Navy. His connection with the county is so recent that we need not do more than say that his lordship's inclinations did not lead him towards the discharge of public duties. He was famous as a fox hunter, and for many years rode at the head of the Eglinton Hunt. He died August 30, 1892, having been predeceased nine years by his second brother, who, by his wife Nina Janet, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Peers Williams, M.P., of Temple House, Berks, had issue three daughters. The Earl married, 1862, Sophia Adelaide Theodosia, daughter of the second Earl of Yarborough, who died September 21, 1886, by whom he had issue four daughters. The eldest, Lady Sophia Constance, succeeded to the estates of Southennan and others. She was married, 1885, to Captain Samuel Hynman Allanby, of Garnsgate Hall, who in 1894 assumed the additional surname of Montgomerie, and by whom he has issue three daughters. Of the other daughters, the second, Lady Theresa is the wife of John Cross, Esq., of Bank, Renfrewshire; the third, Lady Gertrude, wife of Ernest Bruce Acland Lawford, Esq., of Winton, Oxted, Surrey; and the fourth, Lady Diana, wife of Harold Kenneth Allison, Esq., son of Colonel Allison, Undercliffe, Durham.

As the fourteenth Earl left no male heirs he was succeeded by his surviving brother, George Arnulph, the fifteenth and present Earl. Educated at Eton, his lordship served as a Lieutenant in the Grenadier Guards. He is Lord Lieutenant of Ayrshire, a position which he fills with dignity and consideration, and with a regard for public duty and an independence that have secured for him universal respect. He married, September 13, 1873, Janet Lucretia, daughter of Boyd Alexander Cuninghame, R.N., younger son of John Cuninghame of Craigends, Renfrewshire, by whom he has issue three sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Archibald Seton, Lord Montgomerie, born 1880, is a Lieutenant in the 2nd Life Guards; the second, William Alexander, Lieutenant 2nd Dragoons, died 1903; and the third, Francis Cuninghame, was born in 1887. Of the daughters, the elder, Georgina Theresa, is the wife of William Mure, Esq., of Caldwell, and the younger, Edith Mary, of Captain Algernon R. Trotter, M.V.O., D.S.O., 2nd Life Guards.

ARMS—Recorded in Lyon Register. Quarterly, 1st and 4th grand quarters counter-quartered, 1st and 4th azure, three fleurs-de-lys or, for Montgomerie; 2nd and 3rd gules, three annulets or, stoned azure, for Eglinton, all within a bordure or, charged with a double tressure flory counterflory gules; 2nd and 3rd grand quarters counter-quartered, 1st and 4th or, three crescents within a double tressure flory counterflory gules, for Seton; 2nd and 3rd azure, three garbs or, for Buchan; over all an escutcheon per pale, gules and azure, the dexter charged with a sword in pale proper, pommelled and hilted or, supporting an imperial crown, the sinister charged with a star of twelve points argent, all within a double tressure flory counterflory gold.

CRESTS—A lady dressed in ancient apparel, azure, holding in her dexter hand an anchor, and in her sinister the head of a savage couped, suspended by the hair, all proper. A ducal coronet or, issuing therefrom a wyvern vomiting fire, his wings elevated proper.

SUPPORTERS—Two wyverns vert vomiting fire proper.

MOTTOES—Garde bien. Hazard yet forward.

We have traced at considerable length the history of this ancient and notable family. In their early Norman days they were distinguished by those characteristics of valour and of determination that found ample expression on the soil of France ere yet the Conqueror had crossed over to England; characteristics that were destined to stand them in good stead when they had taken up their quarters in England, and which they brought with them unimpaired to the West of Scotland. They came upon the Scottish scene in stormy times, and when the country needed all the brave hearts and strong arms that she could enlist in the long battle that she was destined to fight for her independence; and, identifying themselves with the national cause, and with the general weal of the State, the Montgomeries, generation after generation, were to be found in the heat of conflict, and in the affairs of government that taxed the wit and strained the energies of the best men in the Kingdom. Their story is an instructive one. It recalls a race of men who were able to assert themselves and to take the consequences of their actions; who were patriotic and were ready to vindicate their patriotism with the sword; who could combine loyalty to the Crown with a due regard to the rights of the people. They participated in all the rigours and in the blood-letting of the feud in defence of the family rights which they thought were being assailed. They were more than warriors, too, and more than feudalists or participants in the national life. In individual members of the clan they were good friends to the shire, promoters of agriculture, maintainers of righteousness, gifted in expression, and honourable in deed. And although, necessarily, the ladies of the house, born in it or married into it, had not the same opportunities of writing their individuality across the scroll of its history, it is evident that they proved themselves no inconsiderable factor

in making it what it has so long continued to be, a house of which Ayrshire has reason to be proud and that has been largely instrumental in making the county what it is.

#### THE BRANCHES OF THE FAMILY.

It does not fall within the scope of our purpose to deal with the branches of the Montgomerie family, the houses of Coilsfield, of Annick Lodge, and of Skelmorlie. But neither can they be passed by without notice of the historical and personal incidents that give to them a general interest. Coilsfield sprang from the fourth son of the sixth Earl in the middle of the seventeenth century; in "Sodger Hugh" it took up the succession to the Earldom on the death of the eleventh Earl in 1796. Wodrow tells a curious story of Lady Coilsfield, believed to have been the wife of Hugh Montgomerie, third of Coilsfield, married 1693, and deceased before 1708. She had presented her husband with three daughters. When the time drew near for the fourth child to be born she declared that she would willingly die if only the child was a son, and survived. Lady Wallace of Craigie "warned her against this," and counselled her to be resigned to the will of Providence, but without effect. The child proved to be a boy, and he died suddenly when a day or two old. Lady Coilsfield "fell into a high fever" and died also—"a certain and awful instance," remarks Wodrow, "of retribution in this life, and God's granting a desire, not in mercy, and punishing such rash wishes." One of the sons of the fourth Laird emigrated to Virginia, in America, before 1786, and two years later he wrote home to his brother—"This is not the country for raising a fortune. Never was a poor devil so badly situated as I have been. If I had a son I would sooner cut his throat than send him to America. But as my bed is made, so must I lay me down." He was more successful than he expected, however, and acquired considerable property in the land of his adoption.

The first of the Annick Lodge branch, Alexander Montgomerie, was the second surviving son of Alexander Montgomerie of Skelmorlie and Coilsfield, and Lillias Montgomerie, heiress of Skelmorlie, and was born in 1744. The second Laird, who succeeded his father in 1802, was Lieutenant-Colonel of the Ayrshire Yeomanry Cavalry, and a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant of Ayrshire. His second son, John Eglinton, entered the naval service, was present at the capture of the Imperial Chinese camps at Shanghai, 1854, and assisted at the destruction of a large body of pirates at Coulan, in the island of Tylon, the same year. Captain O'Callaghan, reporting on his conduct, says, "Lieutenant Montgomerie, senior lieutenant of my own ship, is an officer in whom I can place the greatest confidence, and I selected him in consequence for the peculiar and difficult duty of searching for the pirates at Coulan, in the execution of which there was much danger of the innocent suffering. I also, when I thought it was my duty to quit my ship, felt at my ease, knowing he was on board." From Lieutenant he rose to be Captain. That he was a man of varied gifts is evident from the fact that he was the author of a vocabulary of the American Indians in the neighbourhood of the Columbia river and Puget's Sound. Captain Montgomerie's brother, Thomas George, was a Captain in the Bengal Engineers. When he was a cadet in 1849 at the Addiscombe Military Seminary he won the Pollock Prize, a valuable gold medal presented by the British inhabitants of Calcutta to the most distinguished cadet of the season. In 1859 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society.

The Skelmorlie branch came off the main stock as early as the middle of the fifteenth century. In the male line the direct succession went on for three hundred years, when the estate fell to an heiress, who carried it on her marriage to her kinsman of Coilsfield, from which marriage the present Earl of Eglinton is descended. The sixth and the seventh Lairds were both notable fighters in the feud. It is said to have been the former

who slew Alexander Cuninghame, the Commendator of Kilwinning, son of the Earl of Glencairn, in 1582. Of the latter, Sir Robert, "a pleasant story" is told in Crawford's Manuscript Genealogy. He was at deadly feud with Maxwell of Newark Castle, Renfrewshire, who had slain his father and brother. For some unexplained reason he went to Newark Castle and was forced to hide in a small closet or turret, where he was discovered by Maxwell himself. In place of resenting his intrusion, Newark called out, "Robin, come down to me, who has done you so good a turn as to make you young Laird and old Laird of Skelmorlie in one day." The invitation was accepted, and the two became reconciled. Sir Robert none the less carried on the feud relentlessly otherwise, and shed much blood. In his latter days he was much mortified by the recollection of what he had done, "and in expiation performed many acts of charity." He built a magnificent aisle to the old church of Largs, and, according to Wodrow, "was a man mighty in prayer and much at it, but very short at a time." His wife's beauty was the subject of two sonnets by Alexander Montgomerie, author of "The Cherrie and the Slae." The wife of Sir Robert, ninth of Skelmorlie, and third Baronet, was prone to attendance upon conventicles, and her husband suffered for it. The fourth Baronet, Sir James, was one of the Scottish Commissioners who went to London in 1689 to offer the crown of Scotland to William and Mary. Later he appears to have compromised himself by correspondence with the exiled Stuarts. Sir Hugh, the sixth Baronet, was one of the Commissioners appointed to treat for the Union with England, and in the last Parliament for Scotland he strenuously opposed some of the clauses of the treaty. He was elected Rector of Glasgow College, 1724.



## CHAPTER III

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### THE BOYLES OF KELBURN

As in the case of other ancient families of Ayrshire, the early history of the Boyles of Kelburn is obscured in what is called "the mists of antiquity." It is not entirely certain that they are of Norman origin. There is at least a distant possibility that they may have sprung from the O'Boyles of Beylagh, in the north of Donegal; and if so, they may have come of pure Norse stock, inasmuch as Irish archæologists are agreed that the O'Boyles are of Scandinavian extraction.

The probabilities, however, all point to the Norman extraction. In the earliest traceable period their Christian names were invariably Norman. In the Ragman Roll of 1296 the family patronymic seems to be given as De Boyville, and it is not difficult to understand that as time went on the name may have become gradually altered by attrition into the name of Boyle. There were De Boyvilles who were feudal tenants of Beuville, near Caen (or, according to other authorities, of Bouville in the arrondissement of Rouen), in Normandy; and it is known from Holinshed's Roll that when William, Duke of Normandy, crossed over to assert his claim to the throne of England, at least one De Boyville (there spelt Beuill) came in his train. Several families bearing the name were settled in Cumberland in the reigns of Henry I., the youngest and only English-born son of William

the Conqueror, and of his successors. The name soon disappeared from the records of the county; and students of genealogy are apt to lose sight of their descendants owing to the fact that some of them assumed territorial names from the lands they occupied, such as De Levington and De Millum.

Hugo de Morville, one of the greatest of all the Norman Barons, obtained vast grants of land in Scotland, including the fief of Cunningham, about the middle of the twelfth century. Simon de Morville, a relative of his (probably his nephew), married the heiress of Ranulf Enguine of Burg in Cumberland. In the reign of Henry III. (1216-1272) Richard de Boyville of Levington married a daughter of the house of De Morville, getting with her a moiety of the fief of Burg in Cumberland, besides other manors: and it seems likely that one of the descendants of Hugo, who remained settled in Scotland, may have granted the lands of Kelburn to a kinsman belonging to the De Boyville family. There was a De Boyville also in Wigtownshire in Edward the First's time, and another in Dumfriesshire. When the De Morville family lapsed on the male side, Cunningham fell to Roland, lord of Galloway, in right of his wife Elena (called also Eoa and Hellaria) de Morville, who succeeded as heiress to the vast possessions of the family. Their son's male issue failed, and Cunningham passed to their grand-daughter Devorgille, whose son and heir, John de Baliol, succeeded to the throne of Scotland. The Boyles of Kelburn therefore became tenants in chief of the Crown.

Whatever mystery may attach to their origin, however, it is certain that they were settled at Kelburn not later than the 13th century, and possibly even earlier; and there is a tradition that the double-headed eagle now borne as the family crest was assumed by the laird who was in occupation in 1263, when the battle of Largs was fought, in commemoration of his having slain a Norseman who had borne it as his cognizance, and who had followed in the train of King Acho, or Haco,

when the great Norse King made his last fight for his Scottish possessions.

Of the early lairds comparatively little is known. For generations before 1493, as appears from an instrument of sasine, they had held the office of Maor of fee (hereditary Sergeant or Coroner) within the bounds of the lordship of Largs. In 1536 a younger son of the family was appointed hereditary Sergeant of the island of Cumbrae by a Crown charter, which conveyed to him the lands of Ballekewin. Tradition has it that a Boyle of Kelburn was slain at the battle of Sauchieburn, June 11, 1488, fighting for James III. When William Boyle died, in or before 1495, he was succeeded in Kelburn by his son John, who seems to have been a man of importance in his time. He lived to a good old age, dying sixty years after his succession. In 1541 he was granted exemption from the personal military service which he owed as a tenant-in-chief of the Crown, on account of infirmity, an indulgence which was usually granted at the age of sixty-five years. There is reason to believe that his eldest son was one of the many slain at the battle of Pinkie, September 10, 1547. It was his second son who founded the family of Boyle of Ballekewin; and his third son received from his father in 1554 the lands of South Ballochmartine in Cumbrae and became the ancestor of a second cadet family.

These were rude times generally all over Scotland, and conspicuously so in the west country, and it is not surprising to learn that the Cumbrae Boyles lived among a lawless people, and that they were not particularly law-abiding themselves. Thomas Boyle in Ballekewin was slain by four Highlandmen—why none can say—and these satisfied justice in what was almost the universal fashion by paying compensation to his heirs. Then John Boyle, son of the second laird of Ballekewin, some years later appears to have threatened certain persons with violence who had raised an action of “lawburrows” against him—an exceptionally rigid method of ensuring that he should be compelled to keep

the peace—and, because he failed to find the security, he was escheated. His father, however, became cautioner for five hundred merks, and his goods were released from the forfeiture. For the same cause, however, another son, Thomas, was put to the horn.

When, in the fulness of years, John Boyle, the old laird of Kelburn, died, he was succeeded by his grandson John, who survived him only five years, and who in turn was succeeded by his son John, who held the family estates for fifty-one years, from 1560 till 1611. The initials of this John Boyle, and those of his wife, Marion Crawford, stand above the lintel of what was once the entrance door, now built up, of the old house, but within its double semicircular mouldings. Above the mouldings the family arms were displayed on a stone built into the wall, with the date 1581. The carvings, obliterated by time, have now been restored. This laird is said by Crawford to have been a most zealous loyalist in the service of Queen Mary during the civil wars. He was on his way, tradition tells, with a party of his followers, to join the royal standard, when the news reached him of the battle of Langside; and he turned sadly homewards. How long he continued loyal to the cause of the unfortunate Queen history does not say, but as the years went on, and the prospects of Mary's restoration died away, he associated himself with Lord Boyd, long the faithful adherent of the Queen, who had made his peace with the Regent, and covenanted, with his household, tenants, and friends, to "ride and gang with the said Nobill Lord, and serve him in the Kingis weris and all uthir his honest and lesum erandis, bissnes, and effeiris."

These also were stormy and uncertain times in Scotland. Law and order were at a discount. There were sore trials both in Church and State. The central power had so much ado taking care of itself that it could not control the turbulent lords and lairds of the west, and, in the distracted condition of society, these became a law to themselves, and the blood feud was at its

hottest. Kelburn acted and suffered with the rest. We find him giving large security for his relatives and friends "that they will not harm," now a peaceful minister of religion, now the widow of a neighbouring landed proprietor; and again aiding and countenancing his cousins in Cumbrae, who would seem to have been greatly in need of such support. When his long life was drawing to a close, "esteeming it his duty to have a care of the house of Kelburn," he made provision for the younger sons by way of contract with his heir, dated October 31, 1610. His wife, second daughter of Hugh Crawford of Kilbirnie, by whom he had a large family, predeceased him, dying in October, 1596. Six of their daughters were married to landed gentlemen. One of them, Marion, was married, secondly, as third wife, to James Law, the well known Archbishop of Glasgow, whom she survived. In his will the Archbishop bequeathed to her "the tua silver coupes owir gilt with gold of playne work imbossed, and that sylwer salt-fat owir gilt that daylie servis my tabill, with the buird and dressour almerie standing in the heich hall within the Tour." The stately monument which Marion raised to the memory of the Archbishop may still be seen in the Cathedral Church of St. Mungo.

One of the cld laird's sons, William, undertook in 1692 to raise a company of a hundred soldiers and transport them to a place in Prussia for service under himself as captain, in the regiment commanded by Sir George Cunningham, Knight, in the army of Gustavus Adolphus. The third son, James, adopted the law as a profession, and for many years held the post of Procurator Fiscal of the Commissary Court of Glasgow.

The eldest son, John, was born about 1585. He was educated at Glasgow University, where he was a fellow student with the afterwards famous Zachary Boyd, who was twice elected Rector of the University, and whose "Last Battell of the Soule in Death" remains an interesting example of the philosophic theology of the period enshrined in very crude verse. Boyle studied

to very good purpose, and long afterwards had the reputation of being a learned man, especially in matters relating to law. He was appointed Judge of the Commissariat Court of Glasgow, and began to act in 1627. He also took a leading part in county business. In 1627, when Charles I. issued his ill-omened edict of revocation of Church lands, which alienated from him to so great an extent the affections of the more influential classes of his Scottish subjects, Kelburn was elected one of two Commissioners to represent the heritors of the county of Ayr before the Commission appointed to carry out the royal policy, in reference to a settlement of the question of teinds. According to Lord Boyd, who commended him to the Earl of Melrose, then Lord Privy Seal, he was "thocht to be ane verie wyse man heir," and well worthy to be trusted. He was appointed by the Crown at various times a member of Commissions for searching for Papists, for the suppression of papistical practices, for the valuation of teinds, and for the revision of the law of Scotland. He was twice elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University. In 1638 he ceased to be Commissary of Glasgow because, according to M'Ure, "he was forced to dispoise the office to those who had the power in their hands, because he was very firm, and an inflexible Royalist." Crawford relates that "when the civil war broke out, anno 1639, he did signally manifest his loyalty to His Majesty, whose interest he zealously asserted during that fierce and unnatural war, for which he suffered no less than ten years' banishment to the ruin almost of his estate;" but there is every reason to believe that even granting the main fact of the banishment, which is not quite certain, the period of exile is much exaggerated. Boyle appears to have been not only a man ready to use his influence on behalf of his friends, but open-handed to the point of extravagance; so much so that he landed himself heavily in debt, and had to suffer in consequence, even to the extent of selling some of the family possessions which had been in the hands of the Boyles for at least



three hundred years. He maintained a town house in Edinburgh, and seems to have attended the Court of St. James's more often than was at all common for Scottish country gentlemen at that period.

Just about the time when John Boyle succeeded his father, the Ulster "plantation" scheme began to be vigorously prosecuted, and among those who crossed over to take up the forfeited lands were some of the Ballikewin Boyles, who settled in Donegal on lands which had been granted to Sir John Cunningham of Crawfield, in the parish of Beith (son of Sir James Cunningham of Glengarnock), who had married Jean Boyle, daughter of the third Laird of Ballikewin. These emigrants in course of time disappeared from the records of the family, but Ballikewin remained with their relatives till 1721, when it was acquired by John, Lord Boyle, and thus fell to the main line. In 1611 John Boyle of Kelburn married Agnes Maxwell, daughter of the then deceased Sir John Maxwell of Nether Pollock, Knight. Her tocher was 9000 merks. The contract of marriage passed with consent of Sir John Maxwell of Nether Pollock, Knight, her brother. It was expressly arranged before the marriage that if he should predecease her without issue, and she should therefore be entitled to succeed him in any of his lands, she was to renounce them, with consent of her husband, in favour of Sir John's male heir; and this she, and her daughter Grizel, the only child of the marriage, did, nearly forty years afterwards.

There are many interesting details, specifically of a family character, in the Kelburn records of this period which are not of general historical interest. The laird, as has been said, was not without his financial troubles. These, however, were materially relieved by the marriage of his only child, Grizel, to David Boyle, the eldest son of James Boyle of Halkishirst (now Halkshill), near Largs, who was kinsman to Kelburn; his descent from John Boyle first of Ballikewin is proved clearly. This David was a prudent and a careful man, with a great

capacity for business, and is said to have begun life as commander in one of the ships belonging to his father, a well-to-do merchant and shipowner of Largs. When, in right of his wife, he became fiar of Kelburn, he did not give up the lucrative trade in which he had been engaged, but continued to own ships, one of which was "taken by the enemy" long after his marriage. He seems also to have been the owner of at least one privateer. After the death of his father, who left him a fortune that was large for these days, he invested large sums in land, greatly enhancing the family possessions. Among other properties he acquired in 1656 the barony of Fairlie, including the village (then a burgh of barony), and some of the lands held by cadets of the family in Cumbrae. His wisdom stood him in good stead when Scotland was in possession of the forces of the Commonwealth. His sympathies seem to have been Royalist, yet he succeeded in keeping on good terms with Cromwell's officers, and thus he acquired an influence which he was able to exercise when required for the general good. Thus he proved himself a good friend to the county of Bute when one of the military commanders of the Commonwealth had quartered troops upon the people in vindication of the regulations for Excise, and "freighted the puir bodies with souldiers without anie warrand or decreet of the Commissioners."

When his kinsman, Sir John Crawford of Kilbirnie in 1663 was "drawing near his last breath," Kelburn was with him in Edinburgh. He had assisted Sir John in the management of his large estates. Similarly he found time to advise the family of another relative, Ninian Stewart of Kilchattan, whose affairs had become involved. And he appears to have been blessed with a worthy helpmeet in his wife Grizel, who, like the model woman of the Book of Proverbs, "looked well to her household." There were seven children of the marriage. One of the sons, James, became a merchant, and a burghess, and was several times Provost of Irvine, and he represented the burgh in two Parliaments. A man

of ability and integrity, he was more than once associated with his elder brother in Commissions to investigate the values of forfeited estates ; the Government of the day employed him to make quasi-judicial investigations outside his jurisdiction as Provost ; and, in 1683, he was required to make a special investigation into the truth of a statement that " a bag of money or gold of the bignes of a two hundred pound sterling bag," exposed by the downfall of an old house called Dumbisdail, in the barony of Kilmaurs, had been appropriated by one of the finders in defiance of the rights of the Crown. James married in 1668 the daughter and heir of Robert Barclay, a cadet of the Perceton family, and a rich merchant in Irvine, with whom he obtained 20,000 merks, the estate of Montgomeriestone in South Ayrshire, and property in Irvine. Another son of David of Kelburn, Patrick, became a Bailie in Irvine, where he appears also to have had an appointment under the Crown. The elder daughter was married, 1670, to William Wallace of Shewalton ; the younger remained unmarried.

It was in 1672 that John Boyle, as eldest son, succeeded his father in Kelburn. He inherited the gifts of wisdom and of judiciousness that his father had enjoyed in so marked a degree, and was greatly trusted and much employed by the Government under Charles II. On intimate terms with Lord Haltoun, brother of the Duke of Lauderdale, he supported the Administration of the Duke until its fall in 1680, but, in place of sharing in the rigours that befel the adherents of that Government, he remained in high favour with the new Administration, which no doubt knew the value of his ability, experience, and local knowledge, and how to turn these to the best account in the service of the State. Before his father's death he had been appointed by the Privy Council Sheriff of Bute, during the minority of Sir James Stewart, the hereditary Sheriff of the county, and he seems to have been also one of Sir James's guardians. The father of this young man, Sir Dougal

Stewart, had died heavily in debt, and his free estate had been escheated at the instance of Lord Cochrane. The ward, marriage, and non-entry of Sir James had been granted to the Earl of Dundonald; but Kelburn acquired both the escheat and the gift of ward, and in due time handed over the whole to Sir James himself. He succeeded also in preventing the family properties of his ward from falling into less friendly hands than his own. Further, he had enriched the estate by adding to it certain lands in Bute, and it was by a purchase by him in 1674 that the office of hereditary Coroner of Bute first came into the hands of Sir James and his heirs. By these means he did much to retrieve the family position of the Stewarts.

The laird's activities were not restricted. He engaged in many affairs, public and private, for himself and others. He owned ships, as his father and grandfather had done before him. When Alexander, fourth Lord Blantyre, was sick to death with smallpox, or other infectious disease, he did much for him when others, more closely connected with his Lordship, failed to do anything. And when, in 1682, the young Lord Boyd, not long married, was pressed for money by his creditors, and his rich father-in-law, Thomas Boyd, a Dublin merchant, refused to come to his aid, Kelburn and his brother took up between £4000 and £5000 of his debts, and were ready to "stretch themselves still further," mindful apparently of the early friendship of their ancestors with the Boyds, from whom, until the latter were forfeited in 1469, they had held the lands of Ryeshelm, in the parish of Dalry.

The laird of Kelburn represented Bute in three Parliaments, and he was a Commissioner of Supply for Ayrshire. He does not seem to have held any further appointment under the Treasury until near the end of his life, but on March 2, 1680, he was commissioned, at a salary of 4000 merks, to supervise the levy of customs duties and the preventive service between Ayr and Glasgow, to pursue offenders against the excise laws,

and to recover the fines levied on those convicted. In 1684 he was commissioned to administer the Test to custom house officials. The strictly protectionist policy of the Council, and especially the rigid exclusion of Irish grain, horses, and cattle, gave rise to much correspondence. Smuggling was carried on to a great extent, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Administration. There is at Kelburn a "compt of the money received in January, 1680, for the horses seized by virtue of ane commission from John Boyle of Kelburne, and disposed of conforme to the Council's order and proclamation;" and a subordinate official wrote from Ayr, July 7, 1681, that he knew some Irish horses had been smuggled ashore at Ballantrae and Dunure, adding that if such goings on continued "the Earl of Lithgow's Reidgement will not keep the shore of Carrick." In 1684 Robert M'William, in Mains of Greenan, who had been released from the Tolbooth of Ayr, where he was consigned by Sir Robert Grierson of Lagg and John Boyle of Kelburn for bringing victual from Ireland, gave an undertaking that he would go back to the Tolbooth and pay a fine of £100 sterling if he repeated the offence.

A highly interesting experience in the life of John Boyle of Kelburn was his appointment as Crown Commissioner or Chamberlain for the estates of Archibald, ninth Earl of Argyll, forfeited on his condemnation to death for treason in 1681, and those of Macdonald of Largie, all of which were retained in the hands of the Crown. His control extended to the estates which formerly belonged to M'Lean and to Benbecula, and other lands at a great distance; and he appointed John Campbell of Glendessarie to be his assistant, apparently to take charge of the more remote regions. In the carrying out of his many and important duties he was supported by troops, under orders from General Dalziel. Practically, Kelburn was put in charge of a great part of the West Highlands, and he came to be designated as Commissioner of Justiciary

for Argyll. He was inundated with applications for employment, or for protection, and in some of the letters which he received somewhat curious requests were presented. Thus, writing from Dunavertie, April 16, 1683, Robert Stewart says in a postscript:—"Lachlie, his service remembered, intreats that ye may have a cair of David Stewart that he spend not all his money befor he gae home, and have a cair that he keep it to his wife and bairns, and ye should tell him quhen he wreitts to him again that he seal his letter, and that he provyde himself better with wax than he has done before he come out of Bute again." Kelburn encountered great difficulties in collecting monies due to the Crown by the tenants of the Earl of Argyll and by way of feu duties, and it was necessary for the Treasury to hold a judicial inquiry. In his travels through the country the laird found many of the inhabitants in a miserable state of poverty. A subordinate agent, writing from Campbeltown, June 28, 1684, bespeaks his favour for Kintyre. "Your Honour," he says, "would pitie the cais of this poor countrie as it now is, iff ye knew it;" and yet, in the same letter, he assures his patron that he need not fear the incoming of Irish meal, the comparative cheapness of which would have been so great an advantage to the people.

While Kelburn's hands were sufficiently full in Argyll, he did not neglect his duties elsewhere. He remained acting chief of the preventive service in Ayr and Renfrew, a post in which his position was strengthened and his emoluments increased; and he was present at the meeting of Parliament in 1685, when he was appointed to the important post of Lord of the Articles. It was Argyllshire, however, that claimed the exercise of his strenuous and unresting energies. The same year the Earl of Argyll, acting in support of the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, made his unsuccessful descent on the West of Scotland. The Marquis of Athol was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Argyll, with Boyle as his deputy; and on August 19 he received a



commission, as Chamberlain of Argyll, to uplift the fines inflicted on delinquents by the Marquis. He was also appointed "joint General Commisar of the King's Army, now drawing to the fields" under George, Earl of Dumbarton, for the suppression of the disturbances.

The laird's correspondence gives a vivid picture of the state of confusion into which the rebellion plunged the country. Archibald Lord Lorn, afterwards first Duke of Argyll, represented himself as in such financial straits that he must either sell or mortgage Roseneath; and he offered the Government his aid to resist the rebellion—a politic measure no doubt suggested by the necessity for standing well with the Crown, so that in any event the estates might be preserved for the family. The granaries of Bute had been plundered and emptied of their contents by some shiploads of rebels under Argyll himself, and the King's Advocate wrote to Kelburn asking him to supply the food grains needful to keep the people from starving. In July, 1686, Lord Montgomerie wrote to him that all the meal in Lady Cochrane's girnel had been arrested for the King's use, and begged that, as the rebellion was now at an end, it might be sold for her benefit. An official, writing from Inveraray in August, bemoaned the condition of the country, but would not summon any rebels or anyone else until Kelburn was on the spot. And Patrick Stewart, writing from the same place, August 2, gives an interesting description of the conditions of the country:—

'I cam from Kintrye eight dayes agoe. Quhill I was ther, ther was moir erichemen heillanders and all soirts of peapell that I with the healpe of the cuntriem(en) had much adoe to get them sent away out of the cuntrie and the cuntrie preserved, that I meaid heast out off the cuntrie to the Tarbett and gerdit that paise (pass) quhen I was at Lochearde, and since I left ane gaird ther and ther was not much skeath done, and now that cuntrie is peaceabell and

so is all the shyre. The Sheriffe Deput heis advertised all the paroches in the shyre to give an trew accompt of the rebellis and ther goods as you appoynt in your letter. My Lord Livetenant gave orders to Tanyie and sum others to gett the accompt of the rebellis and ther goods in Kintyre. I thingk he will cleir Kintyre, and you neid not goe ther first but be pleased to cum heir, and I chall cause the rest to meitt heir. As for Lorin (Lorn) ther is but few rebellis ther. Quhen my Lord Livetenant went from this place the robbers was in great pairties, so that with much adoe I got them out of Couell, and then they fell upon the Tutor Enderliter's lands. I sent ane partie to gard that, that did much good. Manie of the rebellis is dallie cummin in, but cannot get cautionaris. Sir, quhen you cum heir with the Cuncellis instructiones I hope in ane short tyme you will gett notisse off all theis that robed the cuntrie, for ther was never ane partie of the Hillanders, but ther was alwayse some shyres men with them."

Again, a poor man named Robert Mackenzie, who had been totally ruined by the rebels, craved reparation or restitution; James Montgomerie of Bourtree Hill hoped that Kelburn would take care that such of his tenants in Kintyre as were not involved in the rebellion be not destroyed by robberies, as he hears is most frequent; Duncan M'Gowne complains of being harried by the rebels, and treated not much better by the King's army; David Campbell, writing from Islay, concerning the bond that he had been forced to give to the late Argyll (who had been beheaded in the month of June previous), asked Kelburn to return it to him, and congratulated himself on its having fallen into the hands of so good a friend; and William Fultoun in Campbeltown submitted a "compt of losses sustenit be him in September, be John Boyle of Kelburne his souldiers, and John M'Naughten, Sheriff-Depute, and his." The minister of Kilfynan, Mr. Robert Stewart,

wrote early in October that, as the gentlemen of his parish are with Kelburn, he doubts not that they will offer for the rebels' estates, and advised the laird to study to keep the lands that fall to the King in as good case as may be. Among the laird's papers is a petition from Sir Hugh and Sir George Campbell of Cessnock, alleging that they are prepared to prove their innocence of a charge of harbouring rebels that had been laid against them.

Such was the condition of affairs in Scotland amid which John Boyle of Kelburn spent the closing years of an active and a useful life. He died before he had attained the age of fifty, and it may well have been that his years were shortened by the exacting labours and the constant worries of his Argyllshire experience. He was twice married : first, in 1665 to Marion, eldest daughter of Sir Walter Stewart of Allanton, Knight, eldest brother of Sir James Stewart of Kirkfield, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and uncle of Sir James Stewart, the celebrated Lord Advocate ; secondly, in 1676, to Jean Mure, daughter of the then deceased Sir William Mure of Rowallan, and relict of Gavin Ralston, younger of that ilk, to whom his father, William Ralston, had made over his property on his marriage. By his first wife he had a family of four sons and one daughter, Margaret, who was married to Sir Alexander Cunningham, of Corsehill, baronet, and had issue. Of the sons, the fourth, and youngest, was a Commissioner of Customs and one of the Salt Commissioners, and became a wealthy man. In 1715 he acquired the estate of Shewalton from his cousin, Edward Wallace, and he also owned property in Ayr. In 1733 he executed a disposition of all his property in favour of the Hon. Patrick Boyle, advocate, Shewalton being settled in remainder on his grand-nephew, also named Patrick. He died unmarried, February 17, 1740. By his second wife, Jean Mure, John Boyle had two sons, but there is reason to believe that neither of them survived the period of his youth.

On his death, John Boyle was succeeded by his son David, eldest born of the first marriage. In 1681 he was a student at the University of Glasgow, where in all probability he first made acquaintance with James, Lord Drumlanrig, with whom, as Duke of Queensberry, he was afterwards associated in close ties of friendship, both personal and political. The year after his father's death his name appears on the list as a Commissioner of Supply for Ayrshire, and his name is again on the lists of 1690 and 1704. On April 19, 1687, he was married to his kinswoman, Margaret Lindsay, eldest daughter of the Hon. Patrick Lindsay (or Lindsay-Crawfurd), of Kilbirnie, in right of his wife, Margaret Crawfurd, youngest daughter of Sir John Crawfurd, the last laird of Kilbirnie. Margaret Lindsay, an amiable and accomplished woman, and an excellent wife, unfortunately suffered considerably from ill health. During her husband's absences from home, none the less, she looked very carefully after the affairs of the property. Among the things in which she took an interest was the rearing of pheasants, an unusual pursuit in Scotland at the time, and in one of her letters to her husband she laments the untimely fate of one of the last of her brood pheasants, which some "malisious kreatour has done with throing a ston at her."

On March 5, 1689, the laird had commission to represent Buteshire in the Convention of the Estates summoned by William III., and he continued to sit in Parliament for that constituency until raised to the peerage ten years later. He at once began to take a lively interest in public affairs. On March 15 he signed the Act affirming the legality of the meeting of the Estates—an Act rendered necessary by the fact that William had not by that time been crowned King of Scotland; and he is said by a historian of the period to have been "a strenuous contender for settling the Crown of Scotland on King William and Queen Mary," who were proclaimed at the cross of Edinburgh, April 3. Sir James Stewart of Bute, an ardent supporter of the

exiled King, was long in taking the oath of allegiance to the new Sovereign, and, with a view to avoiding the complications that might arise should he be involved in what had now become rebellion, he confided to Kelburn his hereditary office of Sheriff of Bute, August 7, 1689. Three years later, when the triumph of the Revolution was altogether assured, Boyle resigned the office into the hands of Sir James, who had not even then made his submission.

In March, 1690, Kelburn was elected Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, as his grandfather had been before him. Three years later he was joint tacksman of the Excise, and by his vigilance and activity succeeded in raising the receipts from this item of revenue very largely. He was also engaged in other ventures of a commercial sort that necessitated, together with his Parliamentary duties, his frequent and prolonged absences from home. This was the occasion of deep regret to his wife; doubtless also to himself. For, as has been said, his wife was in poor health, and she died in 1695, at the early age of twenty-six, leaving three sons, who attained to manhood—John, who afterwards succeeded; Patrick, who became an advocate and ultimately a Judge of the Court of Session; and Charles. On May 14, 1695, Kelburn was chosen to act on a Committee of Parliament for the security of the Kingdom, and in September, 1696, he signed the "Association for the defence of King William III." On June 8, 1697, he took his seat in the Privy Council on nomination by a Royal letter dated at Kensington, March 31. Eight days later the contract was signed at Edinburgh for the marriage of the widower to Jean Mure, only surviving child of William Mure of Rowallan, and widow of William Fairlie, younger of Bruntfield and little Dreghorn (now called Fairlie), which latter estate his father had purchased from Fullarton of Dreghorn.

In January, 1699, Kelburn was appointed member of the Commission of Parliament for settling the

communications of trade. On the last day of the same month he was created Lord Boyle of Kelburn, Stewartoun, Cumbræ, Largs, and Dalry, with remainder to his issue male, whom failing to his heirs male whatsoever. In the next year was finished a large addition to the old house of Kelburn. The date 1700 is over the front door, but the building must have been some years in progress, as higher on the house front are monograms showing the initials of David Boyle and Margaret Lindsay his wife. The contract for the work was signed in 1692, and some of the conditions may possibly account for the time the construction lasted. The contractor was to "winn the haill stones, both bigging stones and huen stones;" he was to "furnish all service-men and barrow-men;" and the proprietor was to "lead the haill stones and lay lyme and sand to his hand, with the furnishing of boynes and barrows and materials for mortar and stones."

Some documents regarding county business about this time are among Lord Boyle's papers. The Commissioners of Supply for Ayrshire, in obedience to Acts of Parliament, and Proclamation of Council for regulating the price of food stuffs, prohibited the export of victual out of the county. About the end of 1701 Lord Boyle was concerned in getting up a loyal address to the King from the Commissioners of Supply. Echoes of State affairs reached him from time to time from London. Archibald, first Duke of Argyll, writing to him, August 2, 1701, said: "Ther is nothing here but rumors of war, and I think a little touch of it would do noe hurt; we always agree best amongst ourselves in that case;" a conclusion perhaps not so unwarranted as it may seem at first sight to be. The Duke of Queensberry, Royal Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament in 1701, had a difficult duty to discharge, largely as the result of the discontent begotten of the failure of the Darien scheme. He acquitted himself admirably and was reappointed the following year, acting at the same time with Lord Cromartie as joint Secretary of State.



On May 21, 1702, the Duke wrote from Holyrood House to Lord Boyle, urging him earnestly to "come hither" as soon as he could, because "there is no person that I place a greater trust in than yourselfe," and pressing upon him the necessity of "bringing our friends along with you, or to follow so as to be here at the first opening of the session of Parliament."

The Duke well knew he might rely upon the help of Lord Boyle, who was from first to last a steady supporter of his administration of Scottish affairs. This undeviating fidelity to his principles naturally made him bitterly hated by the opposite faction, and in days when party spirit ran so high he could not fail to be villified and traduced by his political opponents. A contemporary memoir writer, an inveterate Jacobite, after giving an unflattering account of his circumstances, character, and abilities, which is demonstrably false in some particulars, writes of him: "There was no man who had such a sway with the Duke of Queensberry as he, and I look upon him as the chief of those evil counsellors that persuaded and engaged him to follow, at least persevere in, such wicked ways."

The project for the Union was one of the measures which the Jacobite party loathed and resisted. On August 20, 1702, Lord Boyle was nominated a member of the first Union Commission, which came to nothing. In January following he was appointed a Commissioner of the Treasury, and Treasurer Depute of Scotland; and on April 12, 1703, he was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Glasgow, Viscount Kelburn, and Lord Boyle of Kelburn, &c., with remainder to his heirs male whatsoever. He afterwards assumed the arms now used by his descendants. The original coat of the Boyles of Kelburn is borne therein on an inescutcheon.

The Jacobite pamphleteers, as has been said, did not hesitate to launch their attacks against the Earl of Glasgow. It so happened that the maiden surname of the Duchess of Queensberry, Mary Boyle, who was the daughter of Lord Clifford, eldest son of Richard, Earl

of Cork and Burlington, was the same as that of Lord Glasgow, and this fact did not escape their notice when they endeavoured to minimise the Earl's worth. His advancement was, they said, due in some measure to her Grace's influence. She was a clever woman, of excellent judgment, and an admirable helpmeet to her husband in his political career, and she seems to have enjoyed the excitements of the intricate political life of the period, and to have delighted in assisting the Duke to thread his way through the tortuous intrigues that abounded. How thoroughly the Duke appreciated the support of the Earl may be gathered from one of the Duchess's letters to the latter :—

“ 'Tis by my Lord's desire that I give you this trouble, who is not surprised that he has not heard from your Lordship lately, knowing you were out of town about an election, which he is sorry to see by the prints has not gone (as he believes) to your mind, and he desires to know the reason of it ; but he complains that his other friends doe only tell him matters of fact, how things are going, without giving him either their opinion or advice, so that he is wholly to seek how to behave himselfe in giving instructions to those that depend upon him for it.”

The Duke of Queensberry was dismissed from office in 1704, his measures for defeating a Jacobite plot having turned out badly. He was succeeded as High Commissioner by the Marquis of Tweeddale, but his talent for dexterous management of parties and his high character could ill be spared from the administration, and he returned to power as Lord Privy Seal and Lord of the Treasury in 1705, and on October 6 was again High Commissioner to Parliament, where the debates on the projected Union made it necessary that the Crown should be represented by a statesman of proved judgment and capacity. Some months before, Lord Glasgow had been spoken of as probable successor to

Lord Cromartie as Lord Justice General, but he went back to the Treasury as Depute, June 11, and on August 24 brought in a Bill for Supply. He urged that the only alternative to a grant was to disband the forces, and the Bill was at once read a first time. On February 25, 1706, the Earl, who had been appointed Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly, applied to Lord Mar, then Secretary of State, for the usual instructions. Writing later to Mar, "there are," he said, "a good number of warm brethren in our Assembly; yett I hope throw the influence of the more moderate and judicious brethren this Assembly shall be brought to a happy issue." How far he himself helped towards the realisation of that hope may be gathered from yet another letter to the Secretary, in which he remarked, "Our clergy mislike not soft words."

On the closing of the Assembly the Earl hurried to London to take part in the Union negotiations, and he is said to have taken a principal part in carrying on the negotiations and perfecting the treaty, which was signed by the Commissioners, July 2, 1706. He was naturally, as Treasurer-Depute, much employed in the fiscal settlements consequent on the Union. Some of the Commissioners for the "Equivalent," he reported, were "lyke to prove most uneasy," but he promised that "all paines shall be taken to remove their scrouples, bott it was scarce to be expected that there possibly could be a commission of such a number of our countrymen and that they should agree, certainly the commission is too numerous." When the Earl went down to Scotland he is said to have taken with him a sum of £20,000 sterling, secretly lent by the Queen to the Scottish Government to enable them to pay arrears of pensions, and official expenses incurred by the Duke of Queensberry. This affair got wind and caused much comment. The money, the Jacobites alleged, was spent for the most part corruptly to secure votes for the Union. Whether there was any truth in the allegation has never been established. The amounts of some of

the alleged bribes were ridiculously and incredibly small.

The correspondence between the Earl of Mar and the Earl of Glasgow was not exclusively confined to public business. On February 21, 1706, Lord Glasgow wrote to Mar to bespeak his forgiveness for his brother, James Erskine, afterwards a Lord of Session as Lord Grange, whose marriage to Rachael Chiseley appears to have been contracted against the will of his family. For some reason it had a most unhappy ending. Whether the lady was actually mad, or whether she was merely an intemperate and insufferable woman appears to be matter for doubt, but in any case he had her sent to St. Kilda, where from 1734 to 1742 she remained for all practical purposes a captive. In 1708 Lord Glasgow submitted, at the instance of Lord Rosse, the offer of a regiment under command of that nobleman if only the Queen would pay them; and Her Majesty, he adds, "could command twenty thousand men out of the West of Scotland," upon the same condition. He shows himself a disciplinarian:—"In my opinion, none of the officers in these bounds where such villanous practices have been used, and they not to discover them, should ever have a public commission, if they were my brothers;" but he was less stern where the needs of a lady were at issue—"I have at my Lady D——'s importunity to send you up the enclosed gift, that your lordship may pass it in her favors; it's charity to help a lady in distress to bread."

On July 31, 1706, Lord Glasgow had a commission from Queen Anne of the office of Baillie of the regality of Glasgow, on the resignation of the Duke of Richmond and Lennox, with large jurisdiction that included power to call the lieges together when necessary, and to hold weaponshaws, &c.; and in November of the same year he was chairman of a Parliamentary Committee that enquired into, and reported favourably concerning the progress made by Mr. James Anderson, W.S., on the *Diplomata et Numismata Scotiæ*, a work which he

had undertaken at the desire of Parliament, and for which a subvention had been granted. He was elected a representative Peer for Scotland to attend the first Parliament of Great Britain, February 13, 1707, and was re-elected at the General Election that was held in the following year. From 1707 to 1710 inclusive he acted as Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly. In 1707 he found the Assembly, as he tells Lord Mar, "all in a good disposition to serve the Queen and her interest not only against the Pretender but also against all her enemies." Mr. Carstairs had been "verry unanimously" chosen Moderator, "so your Lordship may judge they were all in a good temper and disposition," and they framed "a most loyal address."

How much the Earl's tact and gift of conciliation was appreciated by James, Earl of Seafield, the late Lord Chancellor of Scotland, is evident from a letter written by him to Lord Glasgow, May 6, 1708—"I am very glade that your Lordship has so happily succeeded in the Assembly, and that you have so good hopes of our elections; it is necessary that you continue to use your endeavours both for yourself and for us." The Assembly must have been in session when the marriage of the Earl's eldest son, John, Lord Boyle, took place. A few months later he applied to the Secretary of State to have his son appointed a member of the Privy Council, although he was not yet of age. Lord Mar tactfully evaded the request:—"It can be easilie done in a leitle tim, when he is fully of age, and then ther can be nothing said against it." Spelling was obviously not a strong point with Lord Mar, who might well have apologised for his defective orthography, as Lady Haddington did in a letter written at Tiningham, August 19, 1702, in which she begged Lord Glasgow to excuse it, "since it is one of the enfimities my sex is subject to." It can hardly be said, however, that Mar was backward in this respect, beyond the standard of the times. Scotland was then just beginning to escape from the period when, in spelling, every man was a law unto himself.

On July 7, 1707, the Earl of Glasgow wrote to his brother-in-law, Viscount Garnock—"I have with no small struggle gott you continued upon the commission of Exchequer. Your neighbour, —, is ane angry man that you should be so much notticed by the Government, and that he and his goodson — are altogether neglected and left out of all commissions; be assured I'll doe for you whill I live." This letter appears rather to justify the saying (noted by Lord Hailes), that the title conferred on John Crawford of Kilbirnie ought to have been Viscount Gorbals, as he was always at the tail of Glasgow! It was to Lord Glasgow that his brother-in-law owed his elevation to the peerage. Queensberry wrote to Lord Glasgow that he "had assurance from the Queen that his (Kilbirnie's) desire shall be granted very soon;" and in venturing to give his word of honour "that it shall be done in a short time," he desired Glasgow "to lay down such measures as to secure such a successor to him for the shire as may concurr with us in the interest of the Government." Lord Glasgow's labours had for some time been very incessant; in two years he had been "bot ten dayes in the country," but none the less, when his employment as Treasurer-Depute came to an end the following year, 1708, he was somewhat perturbed. "It will seem verry strange," he wrote to Lord Mar, April 7, "that I should have been so verry active to carry on the Union, to throw myself out of the Government. However," he added, "I submitt all my concerns cheerfully to your consideration that are above; I shall never complain, bot shall be perfectly easy, come of it what will." His enforced leisure was not of long duration. Sir James Hamilton of Philiphaugh, the Lord Clerk Register, was hopelessly ill, and the Secretary of State recommended Lord Glasgow to the Queen as a man specially qualified for the post soon to be vacant:—

"If your Majestie please to bestow it immediatly on the Earle of Glasgow it will show the world that



you favour your servants and will support those who serve you faithfully. Nobody can deserve it better than my Lord Glasgow, for he has all along been firm to your Majestie's interest, and, throw no fault of his if it was not adhering to your measures, he lost a good post since the Union, and is now chosen again to serve in the Parliament. The Duke of Queensberry told my Lord Glasgow of the assurances your Majestie was pleased to give of his having the first fit post for him that fell, which would make a delay in this affair the more mortifying to him now."

Delay there was none ; indeed, he seems to have already entered upon the office, which he held for five years, before this letter was written ; or else his appointment was ante-dated.

When the Duke of Queensberry died in the summer of 1711, Lord Glasgow was appointed one of the guardians of the young Duke, a boy of twelve, whose mother had died two years previously. This appointment gave satisfaction to the friends of the young Duke. Writing to the Earl, May 20, 1712, the Right Hon. Henry Boyle, brother of the late Duchess, expressed his pleasure that Glasgow had accepted the trust. "I am sure," he said, "it is very happy for the late Duke's children that they and their concerns are so much under your care. I know that their father depended upon your Lordship's friendship as much as upon any man's." Lord Glasgow took a great charge of the boy's affairs, and also of his education, which seems to have been considered a matter not unworthy of the attention of the Government, for on one occasion intimation was conveyed to Lord Glasgow that the Lord Advocate alleged that "many complained of the Duke's residence at so disaffected a place as Oxford"! The young Duke repaid the kindness of his guardian with great affection, which he extended also to his second son, and to his grandson, Patrick Boyle of Shewalton, and throughout his life he reposed entire confidence in the family. On August 28, 1711,

he wrote assuring the Earl that he would labour to follow the good advices which his Lordship gave him ; and, July 14, 1714, he wrote from Edinburgh to Lord Glasgow, saying he was going south with a grateful sense of the care he and his other curators had had of his affairs ; adding the hope that Lord Glasgow would always make use of Queensberry House, Edinburgh, whenever convenient. The Earl was afterwards appointed by the Duke his Commissioner for the management of his Scottish affairs, in conjunction with Sir William Douglas of Kelhead, and others, and he held the position for many years. He took excellent care of the Duke's political as well as of his material interests. He bespoke for him the friendship of Archibald Lord Islay, afterwards the second Duke of Argyll, and of his brother the first Duke, and received from Lord Islay, though not in very cordial terms, the assurance he desired ; which Islay backed by the wise observation that " the best way to remedy all matters that are past is not to think of them." The Duke of Queensberry and Dover lived to a good old age, greatly beloved and respected. In 1743 Patrick Boyle, then a young man, wrote of him :—" In my opinion he is too honest a man ever to be a great favourite of a Court ;" and he is described as " a most estimable and benevolent character, and a true friend to his native country, whose prosperity he took every opportunity of zealously promoting."

Up till this period everything seems to have gone well with the Earl of Glasgow ; now, if the tide was not to have a violent ebb, it was at least to cease to flow. Queen Anne died August 1, 1714 ; Somerset and Argyll, attending the Privy Council without being summoned by Ministers, frustrated by their prompt action the Jacobite plan for the restoration of the exiled Stuart dynasty ; and George I. succeeded to the throne. Lord Mar was dismissed from the position of Secretary of State on suspicion, which proved to be well founded, of Jacobite leanings, and it seems possible that Lord

Glasgow also, notwithstanding all the proofs he had offered of his unswerving attachment to the Protestant succession, may have fallen under the ban of suspicion, possibly because of his personal intimacy with Mar, and perhaps also because attempts had been made to induce him to join the Jacobite party. From Blair Atholl, the Duke of Atholl, one of its leaders, had written to him, August 20 :—" I received the favour of your Lordship's, and am alwayes glad to heare from you, but if you are still at Edinburgh, (I) doe earnestly entreat the favour and satisfaction of seeing your Lordship in this country, where you shall be heartily welcome, and we might have time to discuss of affaires on this juncture ; all is in perfect peace and quiet in this shire and the hilands benorth this." The fact that this correspondence took place may have become known. However this may be, the Duke of Montrose, now Secretary of State, informed Lord Glasgow, October 2, that the King had given his office of Lord Clerk Register to Archibald Lord Islay, afterwards third Duke of Argyll ; who thus seems to have found a different way of " remedying " all matters that were past than that he had styled the best way eighteen months before. Lord Glasgow lost no time in sending assurances of his loyalty to the new dynasty, and received a reply through Montrose that the King was gratified with the duty and affection he had expressed towards his Majesty's person and Government, and he continued to correspond with Ministers ; but he seems either to have been conscious that he had laid himself open to suspicion or to have taken it for granted that his genuine attachment to the Protestant succession was sufficiently well known to the advisers of the new King to exempt him from mistrust. His life in the service of the State might well have proved his warrant, but he recognised that his case was hopeless, and wrote in that sense to his friends at Court. These applauded his resolution to promote the King's cause in spite of ill-usage, but his official work for the State was none the less at an end. As for

Mar. who had continued to express devotion to the cause of George I., he attended the King's levee on August 1, the day following he started in disguise for the north to raise the clans, and on the 6th of September the standard of rebellion was "up and streaming rarely."

Lord Glasgow had lost no time in loyally preparing against eventualities, and to provide against the expected landing of the Duke of Berwick in the Clyde or in Lochryan with 7000 Irish, he had called upon his upland tenants to provide themselves with arms, and had offered his services to the King; and, on August 8, he wrote to Montrose, who had succeeded Mar as Secretary for Scotland, in these words:—

"There being an invasion speedily intended of these Kingdoms, I thought it my duty to assure your Grace that I will ever stand by and assist his Majesty with my lyfe and fortune in support and defence of his undoubted Right and Title to the Crown against the Pretender and all that adhere to his interest, and in defiance of all his Majestie's open and secret enemies both abroad and at home. My Lord Duke, I will cheerfully and heartily serve the King's interest on this exigent, and doe freely offer to maintain ffyve hundred men on this emergent upon my own charges and expense if it please his Majesty to accept of it, for I look upon all the abettors and assisters of the Pretender and his interest not only to be enemies to the King, but also heart enemies To our most holy Religion, and all that's valuable and dear to us either as men or Christians. . . . May it please your Grace, our shyre of Air is not so well armed as we could wish, but we have no officers to train and command them; they will be found very hearty in the cause."

The generosity of this offer is the best proof of the sincerity that dictated it; for, if it had been accepted, it meant a severe strain on the Earl's resources.

Again, September 1, he wrote to Charles Viscount Townshend, the new Secretary of State for the Northern Department, *vice* Montrose, in the following terms :—

“ I do assure your Lordship, I shall not only maintain fyve hundred men upon our being invaded by the Pretender, but shall cheerfully advance my money to maintain fyve hundred men more if it please his Majesty to call for it ; for what would not a man that hath any sense of Religion and Liberty advance in the defence and preservation of a Protestant King and Protestant Succession to the Croun, and to prevent the nationes being overrun with Popery, Hellish Tyranny and Slavery ; my Lord, I shall not be wanting to advance the last farthing I have, and to hazard my lyfe chearfully in this cause and stirr up my neighbours to the uttmost of my small power and influence to the same effect.”

No time was lost in making such preparations as were possible for the defence of Ayrshire. Several of the county nobility, including Lord Glasgow, met to concert measures. An agreement was afterwards entered into by the gentry of Cunningham to arm and discipline men, and a general rendezvous was appointed for August 22, when 6000 effective and well-armed Cunningham men mustered with their proper officers on the common at Irvine. Lord Glasgow was present at the gathering. The County Militia of Bute were also got ready, and the Glasgow tenantry in Cumbræ were required to do their part. Their active services in the field were not, however, required.

As has been said, the Earl of Glasgow never was recalled to office. His words and his acts were alike those of a perfect loyalist, but either there remained a hankering suspicion in high quarters that he had inclined towards Jacobitism, or his services were not required. But though office knew him no more, and although he never again was a representative Peer, he

did not settle upon his lees. Residing at Kelburn almost constantly, he found abundance of work lying to hand, in the county, in the management of his own estates, and in multitudinous affairs of many kinds. He interested himself in the financial embarrassments of his friends, Lord Garnock and Corsehill. He took part in the arrangement of the election of the Scotch Peers to the House of Lords, and in elections. He found time to devote to the Queensberry estate. He procured appointments for friends. He was interested in the settlements of ministers. He gave counsel and advice. He looked to the wellbeing of the poor. He placed his library at the disposal of his grandsons.

A curious record is preserved of the proceedings of a Baron Court held in 1726, which fined his coachman for profane swearing, and amerced him in the substantial penalty of three hundred pounds Scots (£25 sterling) for a violent assault on a groom and two other fellow-servants.

As the years went on the Earl suffered severely from gout and kindred complaints. His second wife died in Edinburgh, 1724, and was buried in the Abbey of Holyrood House. Lord Glasgow himself died at Kelburn, October 31, 1733, aged 67, and was buried at Largs. And thus closed a life, not without its viscissitudes, but marked by much good work done for the nation; a life characterised by unblemished probity at a period in Scottish history when temptations to men in high estate were many, and when, in the procession of events, it was no easy matter to avoid the occasions of possibly becoming compromised that abounded in many directions. A spy employed by the English Government before the Union to investigate the character of the Scottish nobility, reported that Lord Glasgow was distinguished by application and capacity, and that he was "a fat fair man." This description agrees with the portraits of him that are extant. He is said to have had much of the air and manner of an eccentric brother of Marion Stewart, his mother.



The second son of the first Earl—we shall deal with the eldest son presently—Patrick Boyle, was an advocate, an able man and influential in his time, who in 1746 was appointed a Judge of the Court of Session, and who took the title of Lord Shewalton from the estate in which he had succeeded his uncle William in 1740. He was afterwards a member of the Board of Manufactures. For many years he was Commissioner to the Duke of Queensberry, with whom, as with “Lovely Kitty,” the Duchess, he was on terms of intimate friendship. He died unmarried at Drumlanrig, 1761, and was buried at the Church of Largs. He was succeeded in Shewalton, under the provisions of his uncle’s entail, by his nephew, also named Patrick. The Earl’s third son, Charles, was an officer in the Royal Navy, was repeatedly in action, and was twice made prisoner by the French. The “Advice,” in which he served, fought a gallant action single-handed off Yarmouth, against no fewer than eight French privateers, but was overpowered and forced to strike. Charles, leaving the navy, was appointed Collector of Customs at Irvine. Later, getting into difficulties, he went to Ireland and thence to America, where he resided for a number of years, getting a grant of land in Long Island, New York, and becoming a Justice of the Peace. He subsequently returned to Great Britain, and died unmarried in 1770. By his second wife, Jean Mure, heiress of Rowallan, Lord Glasgow had one son, William, who died young, and four daughters, only one of whom, Lady Jean, was married. Her husband, the Hon. James Campbell of Lawers, Colonel of the Scots Greys, third son of James, second Earl of Loudoun, was a very gallant and distinguished soldier. Lady Jean succeeded to Rowallan at her mother’s death in 1724, and, dying at Lawers five years later, was buried in the Rowallan family burying place. Her husband later attained the rank of Lieutenant-General and was made a Knight of the Bath. He was killed at the battle of Fontenoy, April 30, 1745. Their son succeeded his mother in Rowallan, and took the name of Mure, and

he afterwards succeeded his cousin as fifth Earl of Loudoun.

John, second Earl of Glasgow, was forty-five years of age when he succeeded his father. In 1707, while yet under age, he married Helenor Morison, third and youngest daughter of William Morison of Prestongrange, Haddingtonshire. Her tocher was 60,000 merks, her jointure 6000 merks. In connection with the marriage of Helenor's mother in 1676, an interesting and romantic story is told. Janet Rocheid, heiress of Craigleith, near Edinburgh, was "trysted" by her father's will to his nephew James, son and heir-apparent of James Rocheid of Inverleith, in order that the two adjacent properties should be conjoined. So averse was her mother to the prospective match that application was made to the Lords of Council to have Janet taken from her custody and "sequestrate" in the family of the Bishop of Edinburgh. Before the injunction could be carried into effect, however, the mother "caused carry or suffered to be carried her said daughter," who was not yet twelve years of age, "away to the English border, and there the said William Morison," a boy still under fourteen, "clandestinely married the said Janet," the ceremony being performed by an "outed" minister. The young couple remained on the border till the girl had reached the age of twelve, when, under Scots law, the marriage became indissoluble. To carry off an heiress was then a criminal offence, and the result of the trial that followed was that Lady Craigleith, the bride's mother, was fined 6000 merks, her brother, John Trotter of Morton Hall, 1500 merks, and the young couple 1500 merks, all of which went to Mr. James Rocheid as compensation for his disappointment and the loss caused to him by the awaytaking of the trysted bride. Lady Craigleith and her brother had, in addition, to pay 1000 merks equally between them, to go to the King, and the parties were committed to the Tolbooth until the fines were paid. The bridegroom's father, Alexander Morison of Prestongrange, was acquitted of complicity. Of the children

of this union one daughter married William, Lord Strathnaver, eldest son of John, sixteenth Earl of Sutherland; the second, John, fifth Viscount Arbuthnot; and the third, Lord Boyle, eldest son of the Earl of Glasgow. Their father, "indeed a weak man" in the judgment of the first Earl of Glasgow, ran through his property and died in great poverty. Among other extravagancies he was addicted to play, and is said to have lost very large sums to Colonel Charteris, the notorious gambler of that day, who eventually acquired the whole landed property of his victim.

The second Earl appears to have led a quiet and uneventful life. By his wife he had a large family, but many of the children died young. The correspondence of the period is mostly of a domestic character. It tells how in 1737, "Lord Craffourd has thrown up his commission and gone to the Czarina's service, because the King would not give him a vacant regiment." It tells of the Earl's visit to Bath, where he drank the waters in the hope of restoring his health, and how his coach was overturned by the way. And it bears indications of the Countess's regrets because of his absence from home. But, as has been said, the correspondence is of a domestic character. The Earl died at Kelburn in 1740, aged fifty-two, and was buried at Largs Church. His wife survived him and lived till 1767. Of their family, only one younger son, Patrick, survived his father. Born in 1717 at Queensberry House, Edinburgh, he was educated at Oxford and took Deacon's orders, and in 1744 he was serving as an Army chaplain with the British forces in Flanders. He was a member of the Literary Society of Glasgow, and among the many cultivated and accomplished men in that connection that he numbered among his friends, the chief was David Hume. He had a great affection for Charles, Duke of Queensberry, to whose good offices he was greatly indebted at the time of the disastrous failure of Heron's Bank. He had "so much milk of human kindness" that Boswell declared of him, "one can hardly be angry with him."

On the death of his uncle, Lord Shewalton, in 1761, Patrick Boyle succeeded to that estate under the entail of his grand-uncle William. The old tower, which has since disappeared, then stood among some venerable elms and ash trees. It was not a commodious structure, and the new proprietor, after living first at Kilwinning and then, as a tenant, at Craig, finally settled down at Irvine in the modest but comfortable family house formerly known to the townsfolk, for some inscrutable reason, as "Boyle's Parterre," where he died in 1798, at the age of eighty-one. Shewalton was twice married: first, to Agnes, daughter of William Mure of Caldwell, by whom he had no issue; secondly, in 1763, to Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Dunlop, Professor of Greek in the University of Glasgow, and grand-daughter of William Dunlop, in his day Principal of the same University, whose wife, Sarah Carstairs, was a sister of the celebrated ecclesiastical statesman, Principal William Carstairs. Principal Dunlop was a remarkable man. In his youth he emigrated to South Carolina, where he remained till 1688. In the words of Dennistoun of Dennistoun, he left, at his death in 1700, "a name distinguished by the rarely united excellencies of an eminent scholar, an accomplished antiquary, a shrewd merchant, a brave soldier, an able politician, a zealous divine, and an amiable man." Other ladies of the Dunlop family descended from him became the ancestresses of the late Principal Story and of Dr. M'Call Anderson. The issue of the Hon. and Rev. Patrick Boyle's second marriage (of which the present Earl of Glasgow is a great-grandson) was four sons and four daughters.

On the death of the second Earl in 1740, he was succeeded by his son John, who was twenty-six years of age when he became third Earl of Glasgow. He had, as a preparation for after life, travelled in the Low Countries and in France. On his return he settled down at Kelburn, and for some years remained so thirled to his home that David Hume, writing in 1742, humorously

proposed to burn the house down as the only way of getting him out of it. As time went on, however, he resolved to serve his country, and in 1744 he purchased a cornetcy in the Scots Greys, then commanded by his uncle, Lieutenant-General Sir James Campbell of Lawers, and on foreign service. On August 24 of that year he wrote to his mother from Lisle, in Flanders, saying that the only military operations in which he had of late been employed were foraging and levying contributions on the country; and he mentioned the death in action of a Mr. Kinnaird of the Dutch service, "heir to my Lord Kinnaird," who had fallen while escorting two General Officers on a reconnoitering party. On May 11, 1745, he had two fingers shot off at Fontenoy, when he is said to have held up the mutilated hand to his comrades and exclaimed, "So much for a cornetcy!" The fact of his wound is recorded on a monument erected by his widow many years afterwards to his memory in the romantic glen at Kelburn—a monument that symbolises, in a beautiful figure of Italian workmanship, the grief of the mourner. Partially disabled, he left the Greys, and was transferred to the 33rd (General Johnson's) Regiment of Foot. With his new regiment he was present at the battle of Laeffelt (or Val), on July 2, 1747, where he was again severely wounded in several places.

The Earl retired from the service as a Captain in 1752, and took up his residence at Kelburn. Three years later he married the Hon. Elizabeth Ross, second daughter of George, thirteenth Lord Ross, through whom the estates of Hawkhead, &c., in the county of Renfrew, came to the Glasgow family; for her brother William, the last Lord Ross, dying unmarried, and her elder sister, Jean, wife of John Ross M'Kye, dying without issue, the succession to the estates devolved upon the Countess of Glasgow and her heirs. From 1764 to 1772 inclusive, the Earl was Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly. He was a great favourite with the Assembly,

“not only,” as one of the rev. members has recorded, “for his obliging manners and improved entertainment, but for his attention to the business of the House, and his listening to and entering into the spirit of every debate.” His contemporaries represent him as an amiable and high-minded man, somewhat reserved and silent as a rule, partly from diffidence, and partly perhaps from low spirits, but at times expansive and even eloquent. It was the opinion of one well qualified to judge that, but for his retiring disposition, the Earl might have made a conspicuous figure in the House of Lords, in which event he would no doubt have been a zealous supporter of Pitt, the Great Commoner, for whom he had a sincere admiration. His wounds, however, had impaired his general health, and, like his grandfather, he suffered from gout. He died at Kelburn in 1775, and was buried at Largs. He left one son and three daughters. The initials in box of all four are still to be seen in the children’s garden at Kelburn, having been piously renewed when necessary ever since the days of their childhood. One of the daughters, Lady Helen, who died unmarried in 1780, was a very beautiful girl. The engraving of her by Cosway seems fully to warrant the opening line of a stanza in elegy composed in her honour :

No fairer form the poet’s art could feign.

Elizabeth, Countess of Glasgow, the last of the ancient and distinguished family of Ross of Hawkhead, died in 1791.

George, fourth Earl of Glasgow, was a boy of ten years of age when he succeeded his father. At twenty he finished his education by a tour on the Continent, after the manner of his day. He was at Vienna in 1785. After the French Revolution he joined the auxiliary forces, acting as Captain in the West Lothian Fencibles in 1793, and afterwards as Major of the Angus Fencibles, and Colonel of the Ayr and Renfrew Militia. The latter regiment was disbanded in 1802, the men, or part of



them, forming a new regiment of Ayrshire Militia. Lord Glasgow then became Colonel of the Renfrew Militia. He resigned his commission in 1806. He is described as being at that time extremely shy and of a very retiring disposition ; and it was probably a great effort to him to move the address in the House of Lords at the meeting of Parliament in 1808. He was Lord Lieutenant of Renfrewshire from April 11, 1810 ; was chosen a Representative Peer at the General Election of 1790, and re-chosen at every election until 1815. He was created Baron Ross of Hawkhead, in the peerage of the United Kingdom, August 11, 1815, that title, in the Peerage of Scotland, having been held for many generations by his mother's ancestors. In 1817 he was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University. He had commission as Lord Lieutenant of Ayrshire in 1820, but almost immediately resigned the appointment. In 1830 he received the Grand Cross of the Order of the Guelphs (Hanover), Civil Division. In 1833, on the death of Lady Mary Lindsay-Crawford, he succeeded to the estates of her family, including Kilbirnie, as nearest heir to the Hon. Patrick Lindsay and Margaret Crawford, his great-great-grandparents ; and, as he already held the Ross estates in addition to his own ancestral possessions, his landed property now became very large. The Countess also brought to her husband another fine estate, when she succeeded to Etal, in the county of Northumberland, under the settlement of her maternal grandfather, Sir William Carr of Etal, Bart. The fourth Earl of Glasgow died in 1843.

By his first marriage, to Lady Augusta Hay, third daughter of James, fifteenth Earl of Errol, the fourth Earl had three sons and three daughters. The eldest son, John, Lord Boyle, born August, 1789, entered the Royal Navy at the age of thirteen. His first ship was the "Endymion," Captain Paget, and he was on board that vessel when, with other ships, she was blockading four French men-of-war and a Dutchman. He had been to Vigo and Oporto, and wrote home to say that he

could get a pipe of famous port for £40 ; and he much lamented the escape of a French corvette "laden with gold-dust." After short periods of service on other ships, Lord Boyle joined the "Gibraltar," February 15, 1807, as a midshipman. In July he was put in charge of a "chasse-marée" named the "Lorient," which had been captured from the enemy. His crew consisted of fourteen seamen armed with muskets, and five marines. This craft was despatched with orders to watch the Tiqueux passage during the night, but her services in that capacity were of very short duration, for the same month she was attacked and captured after a gallant resistance, by three French rowboats. Lord Boyle and the survivors of the adventure were made prisoners and sent to Verdun, where he arrived about the beginning of August, having walked or ridden to Rheims, and thence taken diligence. Nor was he released until the summer of 1814. During their long, though by no means unrelieved, imprisonment, the monotony of which was materially broken to those who had plenty of money, as Lord Boyle had, the British officers and other "detenus" occasionally found excitement in quarrelling with one another ; and reports seem to have reached Kelburn that Lord Boyle had been "out" more than once. In 1813 he intimated to his friends that a portrait of himself would be sent home whenever safe opportunity might offer. The opportunity came, but not the safety, and it was not until a few years ago that the portrait (a miniature by Isabey) reached its destination. It had been given to a lady under the impression that it represented Lord Dungarvan, eldest son of the Earl of Cork, who had also been for a time a prisoner of war at Verdun. Lord Boyle did not survive his being set at liberty many years ; he died in 1818, in his twenty-ninth year.

The second son, James, assumed the courtesy title of Viscount Kelburn, and succeeded his father as sixth Earl. The third, William, died a youth. Of the daughters the two elder died unmarried. The third,

Lady Augusta Boyle, was married on the evening of May 19, 1821, at Kent House, Knightsbridge, to Captain Frederick Fitzclarence of the 7th Foot, second son of H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence. The Duke, H.R.H. the Duke of York, and some twenty others were entertained to dinner by Lord and Lady Glasgow at eight o'clock, and the wedding took place afterwards by special licence. The rank and precedence of the younger son of a Marquis was conferred on Captain Fitzclarence by Royal Warrant in 1831, and he was thenceforth styled Lord Frederick. He rose to be Lieutenant-General and K.C.B., and died Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army in 1854. The issue of this marriage was one daughter, who died unmarried in 1855. Lady Augusta succeeded to Etal on the death of the fifth Earl, her brother, in 1869, and she died there in 1875, when Etal devolved on the next surviving heir of Sir William Carr.

Augusta, Countess of Glasgow, died in 1822. Two years later the fourth Earl married Julia, third daughter of Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, Bart., the projector of that monumental work, the first Statistical Account of Scotland, and under whose personal supervision the scheme was brought to fruition. Sir John was a remarkably fine-looking man, and his wife, *nee* the Hon. Diana Macdonald, a beautiful woman. It was reported that when George IV. visited Scotland in 1822, His Majesty, no bad judge, said he had seen as good-looking people as either of the pair taken separately, but had never before seen so handsome a couple. By his second marriage the Earl had two children; George Frederick, who, years afterwards, succeeded as sixth Earl of Glasgow, and Diana, who was married, without issue, to John Slaney Pakington, afterwards second Lord Hampton. She died in 1877.

James, second, but eldest surviving son of the first marriage of the fourth Earl, succeeded his father as fifth Earl in 1843. For many years before that date he was well known as Viscount Kelburn. Like his elder brother he began life as an officer in the Navy. He

was at sea for some years, but the only action he seems to have been present in was when the Ionian Islands were taken from the French, 1809-10. He was promoted to Lieutenant in 1814, and might perhaps have stuck to his profession had his elder brother lived ; as it was, he did not serve afloat for many years before the date of his being placed on the retired list, with the rank of Commander, November 7, 1856.

The fifth Earl was devoted to sport in every form, and spared no expense in pursuit of it. In 1817, when he was but twenty-five years of age, a four-in-hand match for a considerable bet took place between him and Mr Wemyss of Cuttlehill, from Princes Street, Edinburgh, to Queensferry, a distance of about nine miles, which was won by the latter—time, half-an-hour. Lord Kelburn succeeded to *Etal* at his mother's death in 1822, and the next year prefixed the surname of Carr to that of Boyle, by royal license. He was elected M.P. for Ayrshire, May 1, 1839, and again at the General Election of 1841. The following year he was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Renfrew. Lord Kelburn was very fond of hunting, and during his father's lifetime he hunted Ayrshire for several years. He was on the turf for a long time. He did not win many great races, but, as a breeder of race horses he did admirable service to the country. He set himself to produce horses of great power, stoutness, and staying quality, and after many years he succeeded. It is from horses bred by him that many of the best stayers and stoutest race horses of the present day derive their blood. Several horses from his stud were excellent sires for hunters ; while others went to Australia and New Zealand, where animals descended from them are still in great demand. The Earl was somewhat eccentric, short-tempered, and difficult to serve, and it is said that no owner of race horses ever changed his trainer more frequently ; but notwithstanding, for many years none was more popular with everybody connected with racing. For his character stood high ; all the world knew that, whatever

happened, he would run straight ; and his impatience and intolerance of anything approaching to double dealing or chicane endeared him to the whole racing world. For many years his upright figure, attired in a cut-away coat with metal buttons, buff waistcoat, white trousers, and top hat, was a familiar spectacle at Ascot, York, Newmarket, and Doncaster—he seldom went to any other meetings.

The fifth Earl married, 1821, without issue, Georgina Ann Hay-Mackenzie, who survived him, dying in 1895 at the age of 99. At his death in 1869 Etal went to his sister, Lady Augusta Fitzclarence.

George Frederick, sixth Earl of Glasgow, who succeeded, was born in 1825. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he took his degree in 1852. Before his brother's death he resided chiefly at The Garrison, Millport. He was returned M.P. for Bute in 1865, but only sat for a few months. After his succession he matriculated arms at the Lyon Office, quartering with his paternal coat the bearings of Maxwell of Pollok, Lindsay-Crawford, and Ross of Hawkhead, of which families he was the heraldic representative. He was an attached member of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, to the funds of which he made large benefactions : and he built, and partially endowed, at Millport, a College, with a Collegiate Chapel, now used as the Cathedral of the Diocese of the Isles, and Pro-Cathedral of Argyll. He was appointed Lord Clerk Register, February 21, 1879, and held the office until his death. In 1866 he petitioned the Court of Session for permission to record an instrument of disentail of his entailed estates, which was granted. He died in 1890 and was buried at the College, Millport. The barony of Ross of Hawkhead, in the peerage of the United Kingdom, became extinct at his decease.

The sixth Earl married in 1856 the Hon. Montagu Abercromby, only daughter of George Ralph, Lord Abercromby, and had issue two daughters, Gertrude Georgina, and Muriel Louisa Diana. Lady Gertrude

was married in 1880 to the Hon. Thomas Cochrane, third son of Thomas, eleventh Earl of Dundonald, M.P. for North Ayrshire, and has issue. On the Earl's death without male issue, the honours devolved on the present Earl, great-grandson of the Hon. and Rev. Patrick Boyle (fifth but second surviving son of John, second Earl), of whom an account has already been given.

By his second marriage with Elizabeth Dunlop, the Hon. and Rev. Patrick Boyle had a family of four sons and four daughters. The eldest son, a Lieutenant in the 48th Foot, died unmarried at the age of twenty. The third son served in the Navy, but did not live to be promoted to the rank of Lieutenant, dying a Midshipman, and unmarried, in 1786. Helen, the eldest daughter, was married, 1791, to Thomas Mure of Warriston House, Inverleith, Edinburgh, a nephew of William Mure of Caldwell, and became the ancestress of the Mures of Perceton. Elizabeth, the second daughter, was married, 1800, also with issue, to Rear-Admiral John Rouet-Smollett of Bonhill, and was mother of the late Alexander Smollett of Bonhill and his brother and successor Patrick, who between them represented Dumbartonshire in Parliament for very many years. The two other daughters died young, the youngest aged nearly seventeen. The second, but eldest surviving son, John Boyle, was educated at the Universities of Glasgow and Oxford. He was Snell Exhibitioner in 1784, and four years afterwards took a B.A. degree at Oxford. The celebrated Dr. Routh, who was his tutor, said many years afterwards that he would have become a Fellow of All Souls if he could have proved his "Founder's Kin." After his education was finished, he was enabled by his father's kindness to make the grand tour of Europe, according to the fashion of the day. He succeeded to his father's property at his death in 1798, and built the present house of Shewalton in 1806. His mother resided there with him until her death, at the age of ninety-one years, in 1832. Like his cousin



George, fourth Earl, he served in the Fencibles and Militia, and became Lieut.-Colonel Commandant of the Ayrshire and Renfrewshire Militia in 1799, and Deputy-Lieutenant the year following. He died in 1837 in his seventy-second year, and was long remembered by his neighbours for his benevolence, his genial temper, humour, and social qualities.

The fourth son, David, was born at Irvine, 1772. His education began at the local school, where he made such good progress that the master strongly recommended his being sent to the University of St. Andrews at an unusually early age, and accordingly he matriculated there, February 2, 1787. Two years afterwards he left St. Andrews for the University of Glasgow, where he came under the tuition of the eminent Professor Miller, and had the offer of a Snell Exhibition; but, inspired by the Professor, he declined it, in order that he might the earlier begin the study of Scottish law, for the practice of which he was destined. He was admitted Advocate, December 17, 1793, and it was not long before he began to get some little practice. During his first years at Edinburgh he made many friends. Henry Brougham, afterwards Lord Chancellor, George, third Lord Abercromby, and some of the junior members of the Dundas family were among his early associates, and remained attached to him for life; and he became well known to Henry Dundas, afterwards Viscount Melville, who, it is said, soon distinguished him as giving promise of future eminence. He joined the Speculative Society and formed a strong friendship with Sir Walter Scott, then one of the chief luminaries of that body. When the Duke of Portland's Administration was formed he became Solicitor-General, his appointment dating from May 5, 1807; and just a month afterwards he was returned M.P. for Ayrshire, beating the Whig candidate, Sir Hew Dalrymple-Hamilton, by thirteen votes. During his tenure of the office of Solicitor-General, Mr. Boyle's attention to business and devotion to his public duties greatly increased his popularity;

and his reputation as a lawyer was enhanced by his management of some important cases, notably the Peerage Claim in which Sir James Innes Ker succeeded in establishing his right to the Dukedom of Roxburgh. Boyle acted as junior to the famous Sir Samuel Romilly when the case was before the House of Lords, and a friendship sprang up between him and that eminent man whom, as a master of persuasive oratory, he ranked before any of his contemporaries.

Mr. Boyle was himself a very effective speaker, so much so that he is said to have been offered higher office if he would leave the bar and devote himself exclusively to politics. His circumstances, however, did not permit of this. In 1809 he made a speech in the House of Commons on the Walcheren question—which involved the disastrous failure of an expedition which had been sent to attack Antwerp—in answer to Wilberforce, whom he took severely to task for some disparaging expressions he had used about Mr. Perceval, the successor of the Duke of Portland as First Lord of the Treasury. Mr. Boyle had a great esteem and admiration for Wilberforce, but he was warmly attached to Perceval, who remarked to him next day—"I hope you are none the worse of your speech last night; I know I am much the better for it;" and the Right Hon. John Foster, then a Lord of the Treasury, paid him the high compliment of saying—"I never heard a more effective speech."

Some two years later, February 15, 1811, the Solicitor-General was appointed one of the Senators of the College of Justice, and a Lord of Justiciary. On his leaving Parliament Mr. Perceval said to him, "I part from you with true regret, but I think you are doing wisely." He took his seat on the bench as Lord Boyle, February 28, 1811. This appointment seems to have been considered quite in the usual course, but it was different when only a few months later (October 9) he, the junior Judge, was nominated Lord Justice Clerk *vice* the Right Hon. Charles Hope, promoted to the

President's Chair ; astonishment was general in the Parliament House ; and no one was more surprised than the recipient of the preferment himself. But it was not long before his high qualities began to gain the approbation of his colleagues, the attachment of the bar, and the confidence of the public. The Second Division of the Court, in which he presided, became more and more popular with suitors, and his conduct of criminal trials, among which may be mentioned the well known case of Burke and Hare, and that of the Glasgow cotton spinners, was regarded by the profession as in every way admirable. In 1815 the Lord Justice Clerk was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University, as more than one of his ancestors had been before him. In 1820 he was appointed a Privy Councillor. Sir Walter Scott has left it on record that at the Coronation of George IV., the same year, his friend's fine person was set off to remarkable advantage by the splendid Elizabethan costume which the new King appointed to be worn by the Lords of the Council on that great occasion.

The death of his elder brother in 1837 opened to the Justice Clerk the succession to the family estate, and he shortly afterwards changed his official title as a Lord of Session to " Lord Shewalton," the name that had been borne by his grand-uncle, the Hon. Patrick Boyle, when holding the same position. He had usually been in the habit of renting a country place for the autumn vacation, or Lord Glasgow had on occasion lent him Kelburn for the season. For the remainder of his life he lived as much at Shewalton as possible. He took a great interest in the improvement of his estate ; he delighted in farming and in his dairy ; and no one more keenly enjoyed being awarded a prize at an agricultural show. His tenantry became greatly attached to him, and his occasional appearance at a " kirk," or harvest home was highly appreciated. He was fond of shooting, and for many years never failed to turn out on the Kilbirnie or Fenwick moors on the Twelfth of August, or in the stubbles in September.

Lord Shewalton held the Justice Clerkship for thirty years, and was then appointed "Lord Justice General and Constant President of the Court of Session" by Royal Letter dated October 7, 1841. This was a change in the title used by the head of the Law in Scotland. The circumstances that brought it about were these :— In the year 1836, on the death of James, third Duke of Montrose, who had been titular Lord Justice General since 1795, that dignity was conjoined with the office of Lord President of the Court of Session, then held by the Right Hon. Charles Hope. The office of Lord Justice General, in old times the hereditary dignity of a great noble charged as an officer of State with the dispensing of criminal justice, was supposed to be more honourable as well as more ancient than the place of Lord President of the Court of Session ; but President Hope never assumed the title. When he retired, Sir William Rae, the Lord Advocate, wrote to Justice-Clerk Boyle on the subject of his promotion, as follows :—" I have suggested the propriety of your commission embracing the office of Lord Justice General, so as it may be entered in the books of the Justiciary and form a precedent on future occasions." The retiring President was clear that his successor should assume the higher title, and this seemed also to be implied, and even perhaps necessitated, by the order in which the two designations were placed in the Royal Letter of appointment. Accordingly the change was made. Many, nevertheless, regretted the disuse of the venerable title of President, and the Whig party in Edinburgh in particular were suspicious of some sinister motive on the part of the new (and Tory) head of the Court in assuming an unaccustomed style. Whatever may have been the prevailing opinion among the Faculty of Advocates regarding Lord Boyle's promotion to the Lord Justice Clerkship in 1811, there was no disapproving voice heard in 1841. Lord Brougham may have put it too strongly when he wrote—" If Scotland could be polled as to who should succeed dear Charles Hope, there would be but one voice of exclamation—

David Boyle ! ” But other high authorities were nearly as decided in their opinion. Sir Robert Peel had written to him as follows many years before :—“ Every communication which I have ever had from you serves to confirm an impression which was made at a very early period of our official intercourse, that the administration of criminal law was conducted in Scotland, under your auspices, in a manner which might well be cited as a model of a perfect distribution of justice.” Lord Eldon, when Chancellor, was on more than one occasion equally complimentary with regard to civil cases which came before the House of Lords from the Second Division of the Court of Session. Sir James Graham, Home Secretary, wrote in 1841 :—“ Considering your tried abilities and your long and faithful services, which command public confidence both at the bar and with the people of Scotland, I have not hesitated to advise Her Majesty that you should be appointed.” And Sir Robert Peel, writing on October 8, said :—“ I have had too frequent experiences of your integrity and ability in the discharge of official functions to entertain a doubt either as to the selection that should be made for the office of Lord President, or as to the satisfaction which you would give to the country by the acceptance of that high trust.”

But it was not only politicians of the same way of thinking as himself, and high officials past and present, who applauded the promotion of Justice Clerk Boyle. The undisputed head of the Scottish bar in 1841 was Andrew Rutherford, who had been Lord Advocate under the previous Whig Administration of Lord Melbourne, and who, if President Hope had retired a few months earlier, would undoubtedly have been his successor. Later he became an ordinary Lord of Session. At a meeting of the Faculty of Advocates, November 12, 1841, this distinguished Advocate, in an eloquent speech, moved an address of congratulation to the Lord Justice General and Lord President on his promotion. He eulogised the great learning, great

ability, large professional resource, and habit of judgment of that distinguished person. He bore witness to his integrity, his candour, his purity, "his anxiety to free himself from the prejudices and prepossessions which will beset all men and insidiously yet widely divert the course of justice, and of his firm resolution in all circumstances to make between suitors inequality even."

"I dwell eminently upon this," he added, "that his whole heart was in his duty, and that presiding so many years, both in Civil and Criminal Courts, he has ever and remarkably evinced a deep conviction that he who takes upon himself the sacred function of a Judge is bound to devote to it his whole mind and strength, in disregard of every other consideration, and is only the more obliged to utmost exertion—that he then makes it less for himself and more for his country. I should not hesitate to say that in this respect he has elevated the judicial character in Scotland, and that he has established a standard by which all those who succeed him in the high office to which he is now called, or who may fill judicial stations less exalted, must submit to be tried, and, as they shall answer the test, applied to every day and hour of their judicial life, must consent to relinquish office, with honour or without it."

Lord Cockburn, not always the most indulgent of critics, and who, like Andrew Rutherford, was of the Whig political persuasion, was also generous in his appreciation of the new President. "With some great judicial defects," he wrote, "he has some of the greatest judicial excellencies—untiring energy, perfect candour, and the principles of a gentleman. The desire of avoiding labour, with the consequent impatience and negligence, never for a moment beset Boyle, whose sole ambition has always been that he and his Court should do their duty well. Neither (political) prejudices, nor any other considerations, have ever obstructed the



intentional fairness of a very sensitive conscience, and a heart resolute in honesty." If Cockburn had but known that it was to earnest recommendations made by the Justice Clerk to Tory statesmen that John Clerk of Eldin and two other Advocates of Whig principles owed their promotion to the Bench, he might have added some appreciation of Boyle's superiority to party spirit; not a common quality in days when political animosity ran so high as it did after the passing of the first Reform Bill.

During the Justice-General's tenure of his new office, his popularity and the general respect in which his character was held steadily increased. His first years in the President's Chair were troubled by the dissensions in the Church of Scotland, which culminated in the Disruption of 1843. He was an attached member of the Church, and a most regular attender at its services, and it was with great pain that he found himself constrained from time to time to pronounce opinions condemnatory of the action of the General Assembly. The weighty words in which, on one of those occasions, he vindicated the perfect spiritual freedom enjoyed by the Church, have often been quoted. So far as his influence extended, he persistently deprecated and discouraged the prolongation of controversy and strife. The echoes of the contention gradually died away and quieter times succeeded; and the venerable Judge devoted all his energies to the fulfilment of his duty until he felt his powers beginning to fail. He retired in May, 1852, and passed his remaining days at Shewalton. He was offered a Baronetcy by Lord Derby, the Prime Minister, in recognition of his services, but declined it. He died, February 4th, and was buried at Dundonald, February 11th, 1853. His character was well summed up by Professor Wilson—"he was the very soul of Truth."

Many were the tributes that were paid to the Justice-General on his retirement from the office which he had so highly dignified and when he had completed

his course. His successor, afterwards Lord Colonsay, when taking his seat for the first time in the President's Chair on 20th May, 1852, spoke of

“ the loss which not only we who compose this Court and they who practise in it, but all who are interested in the administration of justice here, have sustained, through the cessation of the judicial labours of my venerable and much esteemed predecessor. . . .

If there ever was a Judge who merited the gratitude of his country for a faithful and efficient administration of its laws, throughout a long life devoted to that object, it was he who lately occupied this chair. It was his lot for the unusual period of upwards of forty years to preside over the deliberations of the Supreme Court of his country in one or other of its departments. He brought to that task valuable and powerful qualities—great vigour of mind, great application and industry, a memory at once retentive and ready, an unswerving love of justice, and an almost intuitive discernment of truth. Few judges have had the good fortune to combine so many valuable qualities—fewer still to retain them so long unimpaired. To the latest hour of his judicial career it was not observable that his vigour of mind had abated, that his application had relaxed, that his memory had yielded any of its former power, that his love of justice had cooled, or that his perception of where the truth lay had become less vivid or rapid than before. On the contrary, adding to his former qualities the benefit of accumulating an almost unparalleled experience, the evening of his judicial life was perhaps even more brilliant than its noonday. . . . Having by his character and conduct gained the esteem of his brethren, the attachment of the bar, and the respect and confidence of the country, I need scarcely add that he carries into his retirement our affectionate regard, and our anxious hope that there may yet be in store for him years of health, and happiness, and comfort.”

In his life of Jeffrey, Lord Cockburn describes the First Division of the Court of Session as it was in his time :—" Nothing higher can be said of any tribunal than that, in addition to the various powers of Lord Jeffrey, it contained the long experience and great practical sagacity of the Lord President Boyle, the acute and intelligent logic of Lord Fullerton, and the curious talent of Lord MacKenzie. That was as great a Court as Scotland ever saw, and these four men would have elevated any judicial tribunal in any country to the law of which they might have been trained." The anonymous author of a little volume of " Reminiscences of the Court of Session," published in 1856, gives an estimate of the late President, from which some passages may be extracted :—

" Lord Justice-General Boyle was, in the best sense of the phrase, a grand personage. The late President was so endowed by Nature that in manner and personal appearance he at once seemed to the eye splendidly to fill his lofty place. His high and clear-cut features, when in repose, spoke of a soul possessed in fortitude—the reason firm, the resolute will, courage to dare and do, at need, the steady beam of conscious virtue unquestionable shone upon his brow. He looked like a Patrician of old Rome. Proud of his lineage, proud of his eminent station, proud, as he waxed in years, of his long services and unsullied name, he sat upon the judgment seat and walked the streets of the city, held by the whole public and profession in that degree of just estimation in which we think he desired to be held, and in which he seemed to hold himself. None ever arraigned his honour and honesty ; his manner bespoke his convictions, and suspicion was impossible. On the bench he could be stern, but, like others who had reached similar dignity in Scotland, he was never gruff nor bearish ; and when from being warm he became indignant, none could think, when the burst was over, that malice

had anything to do with it. . . . His manner of address was characteristic. He began quietly and distinctly ; by and by, if the matter was at all important, the syllables of his words were dwelt on, and the pace gradually increased, till the sentence closed with a vigorous slap on the arm of his chair, and he turned round to right or left for acquiescence ; then, probably, he threw himself back, renewed his speech with deliberate utterance, the strokes with open hand on the bench or the chair became more frequent, and when the peroration was with great energy finished, the fine old gentleman was very red in the face, and he concluded just as if he had settled that particular subject for ever and meant to say no more about it for any time to come. His manner with juries was admirable—patient, courteous, firm. No amount of evidence daunted him, and some of his charges were necessarily of prodigious length. Nor did he ever prose or repeat himself, or lose himself in making legal points, or new distinctions ; his sound judgment, unaffected by imagination, his vast experience, his gentlemanly good taste, kept him always right, and, in circumstances often of peculiar difficulty, the fearlessness and yet the delicacy with which he did his duty gained him unmingled praise. All honour to this good man's spotless memory."

The appreciation of an anonymous observer may perhaps be thought to carry little weight ; but *laudari a laudatis*—to receive the meed of respect and admiration from those who are themselves universally esteemed and revered by their fellow-citizens—this has always been held to be a worthy object of ambition to any man while living, and conclusive evidence of the merits of the dead.

Testimony of this character was borne to the memory of the Lord Justice-General at a public meeting held at Edinburgh, March 7, 1853, when it was resolved that his eminent public services should be commemorated by

the erection of a marble statue, to be placed in the outer hall of the Parliament House. Walter-Francis, fifth Duke of Buccleuch, than whom no man enjoyed a higher or better deserved reputation among all classes in Scotland, was in the chair. In opening the proceedings he said :—

“ No one who occupied that distinguished position ever, I venture to say, stood higher in the estimation of his countrymen, and no one, I believe, could now be more properly or more fittingly held up for the admiration of his contemporaries, and as the guide and pole star of those who may succeed him—more especially of that profession of which he was so bright and so distinguished an ornament. The length of time he was upon the bench of this country enabled all the community fully to appreciate his merits ; his unwearied zeal, and that strict impartiality for which he was particularly distinguished and from which he never swerved. And not only was he distinguished by these qualities, but you will all recollect his commanding figure, and his noble countenance, which added grace and ornament to the station which he was honoured to hold, and which in holding he at once ornamented and honoured. Not unappreciated did he cease when after having laboured for upwards of forty years with unimpaired faculties of body and mind, he at last found it necessary to retire, he himself being the first and only person to discover it. In doing that, the very last act of his life, he recollected the proud position which he held ; he upheld to the last the honour and dignity of the first Judge of the country. We thus see in his retirement, as in everything else he did, the high and noble character of the man, and that true dignity of soul which had marked his career through life. I express again the melancholy satisfaction— for such we must feel it to be—with which we meet here to record our sentiments for departed greatness.”

The tribute of Mr. Adam Black, who had twice been Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and who three years later was elected M.P. for the city, was equally generous. For the distinguished Judge there had been nothing but esteem ; in his discharge of duty the fullest confidence. " For forty years," said Mr. Black, " the public had the benefit of his invaluable services ; yet there never appeared any flagging of power, or any abatement of energetic attention to duty. His mental powers seemed to wax stronger and brighter, so that, on the very last day that he sat and judged the people, his decisions were received with as much confidence as in his earlier manhood."

Then followed this eloquent tribute from Mr. John Inglis, then Dean of Faculty of Advocates, and afterwards himself a worthy successor in the President's Chair :—

" We know that it was not to what the world calls Genius—it was not to brilliant imagination, not even to extraordinary intellectual ability, still less to the powers of the accomplished orator or the skilled dialectician, that he owed his great success. It was the uncommon force of his moral character, the amazing vigour and energy of his mind, which remained unimpaired to the last hour that he was among us ; but above all, it was the earnest and ungrudging zeal with which he devoted everthing and sacrificed everything to the one paramount consideration of filling up the full measure of his public duty. He had set before his eyes two great objects of his devotion—justice and truth, and by their dictates every step of his course was regulated. The consequence was that he was a stranger to all those littlenesses and petty feelings which mar some powerful minds. Selfishness, personal vanity, the love of applause for its own sake, jealousy, and unworthy suspicion were influences that never interfered to disturb his thoughts or to warp his sound judgment ; and thus, by the exercise of a strong will acting upon



a vigorous understanding, never allowing himself to be turned aside from the straight path of duty by any inferior consideration, he overcame all obstacles to the elucidation of truth, and to the attainment of the ends of practical justice. His loss is mourned by all good men, but by none with a livelier or more heartfelt grief than by members of that profession who had daily opportunities of witnessing and estimating the value of the public services he had rendered, and of appreciating at the same time the many virtues that adorned his personal character. He died beloved and respected, perhaps beyond any man in Scotland. And yet he never courted popularity. Not that he was unambitious—not that he undervalued or was indifferent to true fame; but he well knew that

‘Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil,  
Nor in the glistening foil  
Set off to th’ world, nor in broad rumour lies;’

and therefore he laid the foundations of that solid and lasting reputation to which we this day pay homage, by following the simple rule of always doing what was right, not because men thought it so, but because it was right in itself.”

The other speakers included General Sir Thomas Macdougall Brisbane, first Baronet and G.C.B., who testified from three score years of knowledge of the deceased Judge that “no individual has a more just right to the honour of the testimonial that is about to be erected to his memory.”

Besides the statue erected in Parliament House in honour of Justice-General Boyle, a second statue (of which there is a cast in the National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh) stands at Irvine, near the house where he was born. Both were by Steell, who also executed a bust of him now in the possession of the family. Another bust, by Park, belongs to the Society of Solicitors before

the Supreme Courts. Full length portraits by Raeburn and Colvin Smith are at Kelburn; and by Sir John Watson Gordon in the Parliament House and the Signet Library.

The Right Hon. David Boyle was twice married; first, in 1804, at Annick Lodge, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Alexander Montgomerie of Annick Lodge, brother-german of Hugh, twelfth Earl of Eglinton, by whom he had six sons and five daughters. She died in 1822. He married, secondly, at Edinburgh, in 1827, Catherine Campbell Smythe, eldest surviving daughter of David Smythe of Methven, a Lord of Session as Lord Methven. By her he had three sons and one daughter.

The eldest son of the first marriage, Patrick Boyle, was a not unworthy representative of his distinguished father. He was educated at Oriel College, Oxford, and proceeded M.A., 1832. He was admitted Advocate in 1829, but never practised. After succeeding his father in 1853, he resided chiefly at Shewalton, and for many years took an important part in the conduct of the public business of Ayrshire. He served as Convener of the County from 1864 till shortly before his death in 1874. He was more than once pressed to stand for Parliament, but circumstances did not admit of this. Mr. Boyle was an excellent Convener of the County. He made it his business to know the work of the shire intimately, and he could hardly have given more attention to it had it been his own private affairs. As a Chairman he had all the qualities that go to ensure the efficient discharge of work, knowledge of routine, consideration for the opinions of others, firmness, and unshakeable impartiality. Those were not the days of popular representation in county government, but it may be questioned whether the work was not done with an efficiency and a conscientiousness, and a regard for every class of the community, unsurpassed by the most representative of latter-day Councils. The leading points in the character of Mr. Boyle were admirably compressed in the tribute to his worth that was paid to

him by the *Ayr Advertiser* (September 10th), a few days after his death :—

“ His intellect was clear and vigorous, while his early training at the Bar gave him a thorough knowledge of points of form and of details of business generally. . . . Remarkably sound in judgment and upright in principle, in public business his perception was quick, and his decision, after a careful mastery of details, never wavered ; and although unyielding almost to sternness against anything approaching unfairness, he had a tender heart for a tale of suffering. In the conduct of County meetings his thorough knowledge of forms and his maintenance of order were very valuable, his independence most marked, and his impartiality beyond reproach. His death will be a great loss to the county ; for though Ayrshire is not wanting in men possessing excellent qualifications for public business, those who approach nearest to Mr. Boyle in these respects will be the readiest to admit that, take him all in all, our late Convener has not left his equal in the county.”

Mr. Patrick Boyle married, in 1830, Mary Frances Elphinstone-Dalrymple, daughter of Sir Robert Dalrymple-Horn-Elphinstone of Horn and Logie-Elphinstone, Bart., by whom he left a family of three sons and three daughters. Four other children had died young. The eldest son, David, served in the Royal Navy. He took part in the operations against the Russians in the White Sea in 1854, and against the Chinese in 1857 ; was employed in the destruction of Chinese war vessels in Escape Creek, May 25th of the latter year (Chinese Medal), and was present at the destruction of the Fatshan flotilla of war junks, June 1, 1857 (clasp for Fatshan). He was promoted to Commander, December 16, 1865, and retired with the rank of Captain, September 6, 1878. He succeeded to Shewalton at his father's death in

1874, and, on the death, without male issue, of George Frederick, sixth Earl of Glasgow, April 23, 1890, he succeeded him as seventh Earl. He sold Shewalton, having previously acquired the old family estate of Kelburn. Like his father, he served for ten years as Convener of the Commissioners of Supply, and afterwards of the County Council; in both of which capacities he illustrated the same high qualifications that had made his father and grandfather distinguished, each in his own sphere of duty. He was Governor of New Zealand, 1892-97, gazetted G.C.M.G., 1892, and created Baron Fairlie of Fairlie in the peerage of the United Kingdom, July 23, 1897. He married at Blairquhan, July 23, 1873, Dorothea Elizabeth Thomasina, eldest daughter of the late Sir Edward Hunter Blair, Bart., of Blairquhan, and has had issue five sons and three daughters.

His eldest son, Patrick James, styled Viscount Kelburn, is a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy. He married, May 29, 1896, Hyacinthe Mary, youngest daughter of William Bell of Pendell Court, in the county of Surrey.

## CHAPTER IV

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### THE DUKEDOM OF PORTLAND

If the distinguished family of which the Duke of Portland is the head is not one of the old families of the Ayrshire land, it is nevertheless a family with an antiquity of its own, and a history that cannot be otherwise than of interest to the people of Ayrshire. For the ducal possessions within the bounds of the home county are extensive and valuable, and the Duke himself must be included among the county nobility.

The original home of the Bentincks was in Holland, and William Bentinck, the first Earl of Portland (1649-1709) was of noble descent, the son of Henry Bentinck of Diepenheim, in Overijssel, and the nephew of a general officer in the service of the States. He began that connection with William, Prince of Orange, which was destined to be of such importance not only to himself but to Great Britain, as a page of honour, from which post he was advanced to that of a Gentleman of the Bedchamber. That he had at a very early period won the confidence of his royal master is evident from the fact that in 1670, when as yet he was but twenty-one years of age, he was chosen to accompany William on a visit to England, the main object of which was to recover the moneys due to the Prince from Charles II.

and his brother, the Duke of York—probably no easy matter, for the exchequer of these last of the Stuarts, so far as royalty in this country was concerned, was seldom full. While in England Bentinck received from Oxford the degree of Doctor of Civil Law.

In 1675 the Prince of Orange fell sick of the smallpox at the Hague, and during the sixteen days of the illness, he was assiduously waited upon by Bentinck, who displayed a personal attachment to the Prince that had its share in the grateful regard which the latter never afterwards ceased to entertain for him. It was not until the Prince was well on the way towards recovery that he asked and obtained leave to go home, and there he was attacked by the same disease and was in great danger of his life. As soon as he recovered he hastened to join William in the field of war which the United Provinces were then waging against England and France. In 1677, by which time negotiations for peace were under weigh, the Prince sent Bentinck on a special mission to this country to make overtures for the marriage of his royal master with the Princess Mary, daughter of the Duke of York, and he succeeded so well that the wedding took place the same year. He was again in England to offer the Prince's congratulations to Charles II. on the failure of what was known as the Rye House Plot, a scheme formulated by a few of the more fiery spirits of the Whig party to assassinate the King at a farm near Hertford, called the Rye House farm, on his return from Newmarket to London. And again, when in 1685, the Duke of Monmouth issued a manifesto branding King James as a murderer and a Popish usurper, and asserting his own legitimacy—which there was good reason to doubt—and his right to the Crown, and when he attempted to assert his claims by force of arms, though only to be crushed at Sedgemoor and to be conveyed to London to die ignominiously upon the scaffold at Tower Hill, Bentinck was the Prince's envoy to offer service and soldiery in the event of these being required.



Meanwhile events in Great Britain were moving steadily onwards towards revolution. No warnings, no experience, could teach James VII. wisdom, and William of Orange began to prepare against eventualities, so that he might be ready to respond to the call of his friends in this country as soon as they should reckon the time opportune for striking a blow at the Stuart dynasty, and for civil and religious liberty. There was much negotiating to be done with the German Princes so as to ensure the success of the enterprise, and in these Bentinck played a prominent part. Events reached a head in 1688, and the final arrangements had to be carried through with great speed. Here again Bentinck rendered yeoman service. In three days he succeeded in collecting a transport fleet of three hundred vessels ; and when these put to sea, he was in close attendance upon the Prince. King James made haste to escape, and there was no desire on the part of the revolutionists—revolutionists only in name, for as soon as they reached the shores of England they were welcomed as the defenders of the constitutional liberties of the people—to stay his going. He was captured, none the less. The news was communicated to the Prince by Bentinck, who advised him to take measures to ensure James's safety. This was done, James was allowed to embark for France, and the Revolution was complete.

Bentinck was now at the opening of a long, a useful, and a varied career in the service of his Sovereign and of his adopted country ; a career not by any means without its attendant difficulties, accompanied throughout by the jealousies and the rivalries that were inseparable from the fact that he was of another race from the politicians and statesmen by whom he was for the most part surrounded, but which nevertheless was marked by great devotion to the service of the Crown and by scrupulous honesty and straightforwardness. At its very opening he received signal marks of his Sovereign's regard. He was created Baron Cirencester, Viscount Woodstock, and Earl of Portland, and appointed Groom

of the Stole, First Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and a Privy Councillor. To these offices he united that of Superintendent of the King's Gardens; and later, he obtained a regiment of horse, which did good service at the Battle of the Boyne and elsewhere in Ireland and in Flanders, the command of a regiment of Dutch Guards, and the rank of Lieutenant-General in the English army. But, while he seems to have been endowed with high military capacity, his work was for the most part that of the statesman.

To trace Bentinck's career at any length would be to enter upon the history of a period that was bristling with events, and we can only indicate therefore its salient points. He seems to have been largely instrumental in checking the plans of the conspirators who were working for the restoration of James VII. An attempt was made to associate him in corrupt dealings with the chairman of the East India Company, but only to result in the discovery that he had indignantly rejected the advances that were made to him in that direction. From 1694 to 1697 he was engaged in the campaign against France in Flanders, was instrumental in bringing about the cessation of hostilities with the French Field-Marshal, and bore a part in arranging the treaty of Ryswick, which wound up the sanguinary conflict in which Great Britain and her allies, the Netherlands and Spain, sought to put an effectual check upon the power and overweening ambition of France. In the beginning of 1698 he was sent as Ambassador to France, where he made a formal entry to Paris of almost unparalleled magnificence, where he made an excellent personal impression, and where he was highly popular both at Court and with the people. When he returned to England he was well received by King William, but found much occasion for jealousy of the Earl of Albemarle, who had gradually been acquiring the King's goodwill by personal qualities that were entirely foreign to the Earl of Portland's harder and drier nature. Notwithstanding a continuance of the King's munificence, and

other marks of the royal favour, he showed no disposition to reciprocate the advances made to him ; he even went the length of refusing to take his accustomed seat in the royal coach ; and finally, in 1699 he resigned all his places in the King's household. There was no actual rupture, however, between him and King William; the latter dined with him a few days after his resignation, and left nothing untried to retain his faithful servant in the work of the country. The Earl continued to take an active part in the direction of Scotch affairs, and when the Darien Scheme collapsed the fury that was directed primarily against the King fell only in a secondary degree upon him also.

In Parliament, as the result of what was known as the Partition Treaty, under which it was proposed to compensate France for consenting to the succession of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, by some portion of the Spanish dominions—a treaty frustrated by events—the feeling against Portland waxed so hot that his impeachment was voted by the Commons, and he was directly impeached at the bar of the House of Lords by Sir John Levison Gower, but in the end the Lords dismissed the impeachment, partly as the result of the royal influence, but mainly because they knew that they had not the support of the nation. By this time the Earl had almost closed his public career. His friendship with the King continued unabated until the death of the latter. When the monarch was on his deathbed, Portland hastened to see him, but only arrived in time to give his hand to his dying master, who “ carried it to his heart with great tenderness.” The Earl continued ready to lend his best offices to the service of the State, and cannot be said ever to have been altogether out of harness, but for the most part “ he betook himself to a retired life in a most exemplary way,” and, November 23, 1709, he died from an attack of pleurisy at his seat at Bulstrode, in Buckinghamshire, and was buried in the vault under the east window of King Henry the Seventh's chapel in Westminster Abbey.

So far as Great Britain was concerned, this eminent man was the founder of the house of Bentinck, and the story of his life abundantly justifies the conclusion that, in its progenitor, it had a man of many excellent and distinguished parts. The fact that he was a foreigner was against his popularity among a people not only intensely national but equally insular as well; and the preference that King William showed for his Dutch advisers awoke many jealousies where otherwise these might not have been forthcoming. He had more of the independence both of character and of demeanour than of the conciliatoriness that would have proved such a valuable asset to a statesman of the Revolution period, but he was a man of singleness of purpose, loyal throughout, as free from the vices of his time as he was personally upright and honest. As Macaulay says, "he took without scruple whatever he could honestly take, but he was incapable of stooping to an act of baseness." The Earl was twice married. His first wife, to whom he was married in Holland, was Anne, daughter of Sir Edward Villiers, Knight-Marshal, and sister to Edward, Earl of Jersey, by whom he had issue two sons and five daughters. She died at the Hague shortly after her husband had sailed for England with William of Orange. His second wife was Jane, sixth daughter of Sir John Temple of East Steen, Surrey, sister to Henry, Lord-Viscount Palmerston, and widow of John Lord Berkeley of Stralton, by whom he had issue two sons and four daughters.

Henry, the second Earl, afterwards the first Duke of Portland, was, like his father, of excellent parts, and gifted for public work. When he was 19 he set out on the grand tour, and spent two and a half years visiting various parts of the continent. By his marriage, 1704, to Elizabeth Noel, oldest daughter and co-heir of the Earl of Gainsborough, he acquired the lordship of Titchfield, in the county of Hants, and a noble mansion. By his affability and hospitality, he so gained the love and esteem of the community that he was elected

Member of Parliament for what was then the county of Southampton, and sat in two Parliaments in the reign of Queen Anne. In 1710 he was appointed Captain of the first Troop of Horse Guards, which position the Earl of Albemarle resigned to him on a valuable consideration. By letters patent, July 6, 1715, he was created Marquis of Titchfield and Duke of Portland, and he was at the same time one of the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber. In 1721 he was appointed Captain-General and Governor of the Island of Jamaica, where he died July 4, 1726, in the forty-fifth year of his age, greatly lamented, "being of a most noble and generous temper, and of so sweet a disposition that made all easy about him." The Duchess, who had accompanied him to Jamaica, brought his body home with her, and it was interred at Titchfield, where also twelve years later Her Grace was buried. By his wife the first Duke had issue two sons and three daughters.

The second Duke, William, appears to have led a comparatively quiet and uneventful life. By his marriage with Lady Margaret Cavendish Harley, the daughter of the second Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, and who, by her mother, was the sole representative of the Newcastle branch of the Cavendish family, he added to the possessions of the Bentincks Welbeck Abbey, now the principal residence of the family, and also the castle and mansion of Bolsover and other estates in Derbyshire, the titular honours of which had become extinct in 1711. By his wife he had issue two sons and four daughters. In April, 1741, he was installed at Windsor a Knight of the Order of the Garter. Dying in May, 1762, he was succeeded by his son, William Henry Cavendish Bentinck, as the third Duke of Portland.

The third Duke seems throughout life to have been possessed of many of the outstanding characteristics of the founder of the family, and he was associated prominently with the political movements of the period. He was but four and twenty years old when his father died, and at once the various Whig sections sought to win him

to their cause. He entered into a warm political alliance with the Marquis of Rockingham, and when, in 1765, the Marquis formed his first Cabinet, the Duke was appointed Lord Chamberlain of the Household and sworn a member of the Privy Council. In the end of the following year he resigned office with the rest of his colleagues, and the same year married Lady Dorothy Cavendish, a daughter of the great Whig house of Devonshire. He remained in strenuous opposition to the Government till 1782, when, on the return of the Marquis of Rockingham to power, he was sent to Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant. Unfortunately for the solidarity of the Whigs, they were torn by contending factions. Lord Shelburne, with Pitt as his Chancellor of the Exchequer, attempted to fight the matter out, but the other party, headed by Lord North and Fox, were too strong for them, and as the result of this coalition, Shelburne retired in 1783 and the Duke of Portland became Prime Minister, but resigned eight months later when Fox's India Bill was thrown out by the Lords. As the recognised head of the Rockingham Whigs, His Grace occupied a somewhat peculiar position. He was little of an orator, he left Parliamentary tactics to Fox and Burke, and he preferred the country life of Bulstrode and the study of music to the excitement of Parliament, but his wealth and rank placed him above jealousy, and he could always be trusted.

The rapid progress of the French Revolution, with which he had at first sympathised, brought the Duke back to the Parliamentary scene, and when, though not without hesitation, he consented to ally himself with Pitt, the latter was so delighted that he made him Home Secretary, a Knight of the Garter, and Lord-Lieutenant of Nottinghamshire, and his son, the Marquis of Titchfield, Lord-Lieutenant of Middlesex. The seven years during which he held office as Home Secretary were among the most useful and successful of his life. The suppression of the Irish rebellion also engaged his energies. It was with great reluctance that he ratified



the disgraceful bargaining by which the Irish Peers gave their votes to the Government to bring about the Union; on the other hand, he favoured Castlereagh's scheme for subsidising the Roman Catholic Church and making it a State Church as well as the Episcopal Church of Ireland. Notwithstanding the weakness of Mr. Addington and his Government, which succeeded, the Duke continued to hold the office of Lord President of the Council. On Pitt's return to office, he did all he could to relieve his difficulties, surrendered to Addington his position, and remained in the Cabinet without office. When Pitt died, the Duke, now growing an old man, and suffering from gout, retired to Bulstrode, but the necessities of his party brought him back to affairs in 1807, and from that year till 1809 he was Prime Minister. But troubles were many; Castlereagh and Canning were unable to agree; they fought a duel on Wimbledon Common, and both statesmen resigned. The blow killed the old Duke, and, resigning in October, 1809, he retired to Bulstrode, where he died on the 30th of that month, leaving the reputation of a good administrator, careful in detail, tolerant in the exercise of great powers, and not wanting in broad, statesmanlike views. In private life, in every relation, he was admirable.

The most distinguished member of the family of the third Duke was the second son, William Henry Cavendish, born September 14, 1774. Entering the army as an ensign in the Coldstream Guards in 1791, he was promoted the following year to a captaincy in the 2nd Light Dragoons, and in 1794 he was gazetted lieutenant-colonel of the 24th Light Dragoons. The same year he served on the staff of the Duke of York in the Netherlands, and in 1799 he was attached to the headquarters of Marshal Suwarroff's army in the north of Italy, in which county he remained till 1801 with the Austrian force, being present at four battles, including Marengo, where the Austrians were heavily defeated by Napoleon; at the passages of the Mincio and Adige: at the sieges of Alessandria and Coni, and at various

other affairs. In 1803 he was appointed Governor of Madras.

It was in India that the more important part of Bentinck's life work was done. Four years before his advent in Madras the presidency had received a large accession of territory through the death of Tippoo Sahib, Sultan of Mysore, and son of Hyder Ali, who was slain in the breach at the storming of the fort of Seringapatam ; and Bentinck found himself called on to deal with an important question of land tenure and revenue administration. He favoured a policy of large landed proprietors as opposed to the system of peasant proprietors, believing that the latter plan " was neither calculated to improve the conditions of the lower orders of the people, nor politically wise with reference to the future security of this government." But before the matter could be finally determined the Sepoys of the native regiments stationed at Vellore mutinied, and killed thirteen British officers and a considerable number of men. Different views were entertained as to the cause of the mutiny, but that which was taken by the directors of the East Indian Company was that it was due to a military regulation, approved by the Governor, that prevented the Sepoys wearing distinctive marks of their caste, and that compelled them to wear a head-dress to which they objected under the belief that its ultimate purpose was to compel them to become Christians. The directors recalled Bentinck in 1807. He complained bitterly that the Court of Inquiry had decided without waiting for the defence of the functionaries whose conduct had been impugned, but without avail ; the directors were ready to recognise his " uprightness, disinterestedness, zeal, and respect for the system of the Company," but refused to modify or rescind their decision.

On his return home Bentinck joined the British Army in Portugal, and commanded a brigade, under Sir John Moore, at the battle of Corunna. He served for a short time as Lieutenant-General in command of a

division in Sir Arthur Wellesley's army ; was sent to Germany to make arrangements for raising a German contingent, which was subsequently employed under his command in Sicily and in Spain ; for three years—1811-1813—he acted as Governor of Sicily, where he tried to introduce constitutional government, somewhat on the British system ; he commanded a mixed force in Spain, 1813, but without much success ; and, in 1814, conducted a successful expedition against Genoa, where he issued two proclamations that anticipated by nearly half a century the establishment of Italian unity, and that, being unduly premature in this respect, caused some embarrassment to his own Government. For the following thirteen years Bentinck was unemployed. He was elected M.P. for Nottingham County in four Parliaments, and for a short period he represented King's Lynn.

In July, 1827, Bentinck was appointed Governor-General of Bengal, and took up the duties of his office a year later. He found the finances of India embarrassed, the result of war in Burma and of the siege of Bhartpur, and the expenditure exceeding the income by more than a million sterling. He instituted commissions of enquiry, and, as a result of their reports, threw open to the natives posts that had up till then been filled by Europeans at much larger salaries, and reduced substantially the special allowances that had been paid to European officers in addition to their pay. These steps resulted for a time in a good deal of unpopularity to the Governor-General, but the deficit gradually disappeared and gave way to a surplus which, at the time of Bentinck's retirement in 1835, amounted to two millions sterling. He placed the land revenue of the north-western provinces upon a satisfactory footing, and established a board of revenue for its control, rearranged the judicature so as to ensure that justice should have freer and more expeditious course, and transferred the whole of the original civil business to native judicial officers. Acting on the advice of Macaulay, he took

steps towards the education of a class of natives in western literature and science, and dealt seriously for the first time with the question of the employment of natives of India in the public service, thereby raising greatly the status of the native official hierarchy throughout Bengal. He encouraged also the settlement of unofficial Europeans in India, and cordially supported the employment of steam communication not only on the Ganges and other Indian rivers but between Great Britain and India as well. While Bentinck favoured the concession of a considerable measure of freedom to the Indian press, he nevertheless was astute enough to see that the concession of such a freedom was not without peril to our rule in India ; and in one of his latest minutes, written shortly before he left India, he placed on record for the first time the opinion that the advance of Russia towards India was the greatest danger to which India was exposed, and indicated changes in the military organisation which he thought were desirable, and some of which ran very much upon the lines followed after the Mutiny in 1857.

But the measure with which Lord William Bentinck's Governor-Generalship remains most closely and most beneficently connected both in this country and in India is the abolition of suttee, or widow-burning. Up to his time it was the custom of the faithful widow to burn herself on the pyre with the body of her husband. Against fierce opposition, both from natives and from Europeans, Bentinck carried a regulation in Council, December 4, 1829, which made all who encouraged suttee guilty of culpable homicide, and although the custom died hard—several of the wives of Sir Jung Bahadar, the Prime Minister of Nepal, having immolated themselves as late as 1877—suttee is now extinct. Another great reform that India owes to Bentinck was the suppression of the Thugs, a quasi-religious fraternity addicted to the committing of murders and living upon the plunder obtained from the victims. Another act of reform that must be placed to the credit of Lord

William was the alteration of the law so that Hindu and Mohammedan converts to Christianity should not forfeit their right of succession to property, and still another was the employment of native Christians in the public service.

As might have been expected, opinions differed widely at the time of Bentinck's Governor-Generalship of India as to the wisdom of the measures he adopted. Regarding his unspotted integrity and his uprightness and unselfishness there could be no two opinions. And that his administration found favour with the natives is evident from the inscription from the pen of Macaulay upon the monument which they erected to his honour in Calcutta after he had sailed for home :—" To William Cavendish Bentinck, who during seven years ruled India with eminent prudence, integrity, and benevolence; who, placed at the head of a great empire, never laid aside the simplicity and moderation of a private citizen ; who infused into Oriental despotism the spirit of British freedom ; who never forgot that the end of government is the happiness of the governed ; who abolished cruel rites ; who effaced humiliating distinctions ; who gave liberty to the expression of public opinion ; whose constant study it was to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the nations committed to his charge ; this monument was erected by men who, differing in race, in language, in manners, and in religion, cherish, with equal veneration and gratitude, the memory of his wise, upright, and paternal administration." Bentinck was endowed with high moral courage, and was perfectly indifferent to popular applause ; and a dispassionate consideration of his career convinced Marshman, one of the leading historians of India, that his administration " marks the most memorable period of improvement between the days of Lord Cornwallis and Lord Dalhousie, and forms a salient point in the history of Indian reform." He had been appointed " Governor-General of Bengal," but the East India Company's Charter Act, 1833, gave him the official status of first " Governor-General of India."

Bentinck, who had been offered and declined a peerage, survived his return from the east by four years. At the General Election of 1837 he was elected Member for the city of Glasgow in the Liberal interest, and retained the seat till within a few days of his death, which took place at Paris, June 17, 1839. He was married in 1803 to Lady Mary Acheson, second daughter of Arthur, first Earl of Gosford, who survived him. He had no issue.

The fourth Duke of Portland, William Henry Cavendish Bentinck-Scott, was born June 24, 1768. He married, August 4, 1795, Henrietta, eldest daughter and co-heir of General John Scott of Balcomie, Fife, and by her had issue four sons and five daughters. His Grace, who was elected F.R.S. and F.S.A., was Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Middlesex, and one of the Trustees of the British Museum. As an agriculturist he distinguished himself by converting waste lands into fertile enclosures, thus giving employment to the labourer as well as improving his estates and benefiting the country. The Duke died March, 27, 1854, and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son. His Grace's third daughter, the Lady Charlotte, married, July 14, 1827, Viscount Ossington, then Mr. J. E. Denison, Speaker of the House of Commons, who died March 7, 1873. Viscountess Ossington assumed by royal license dated June 26, 1882, the surname of Scott in lieu of Denison, and the arms of Scott quarterly with those of Bentinck and Cavendish. She died September 30, 1889.

William George Frederick Cavendish, commonly called Lord George Bentinck, was the fifth child and second surviving son of the fourth Duke, and was born at Welbeck Abbey, February, 27 1802. The history of this remarkable man, one of the leading actors in the great Free Trade controversy and the staunchest and most outspoken of all the statesmen of the Protectionist order, has been told in his "Political Biography," by the Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli (1852). He began active life as a cornet in the 10th Hussars, but it was not in the



military service of the country that he was destined to excel. His mother's sister was married to Mr. Canning, and when that statesman in 1822 accepted the office of Governor-General of Bengal, Lord George resigned his position and accepted the post of military secretary to the Governor-elect. The sudden death of Lord Londonderry, however, gave Canning the Foreign Secretaryship and the leadership of the House of Commons, and Lord George became his private secretary. He excelled in every manly sport. Every game he played, he played fairly, and yet it was said he had the best of them all. He was a bold rider, and enthusiastic field sportsman, a good cricketer and oarsman, and a active patron of the turf, to the purification of which he brought that fine sense of honour and that courage that were destined to work a beneficent revolution in its conduct. From the Duke of York he accepted a majority in the 2nd Life Guards, and in 1826 he took his seat in Parliament as Member for the borough of King's Lynn.

But up till 1845 he remained most closely identified with the turf. Beginning with a small, carefully selected stud, he went on increasing the number of his horses until in 1844 he had about forty running in public and about a hundred altogether. In 1836 his nomination won the Leger; in 1837 he won the Thousand Guineas and the Two Thousand Guineas; in 1838 the Two Thousand Guineas; in 1840 the Oaks, the Thousand Guineas, and the Two Thousand Guineas; and in 1842 the Thousand Guineas. He insisted on the strictest punctuality among all stewards, trainers, and jockeys; the hoisting of the "numbers" of the horses before each race was due to his initiative; he introduced the custom of saddling and parading the horses before the stands; it was through his exertions that the Goodwood meeting was raised to the eminence it still enjoys; and he insisted on the sternest dealings with all dishonest and defaulting persons. He spurned anything and everything in the nature of compromise when honour

was at stake, and threats of actions, and actions themselves, at law he utterly contemned. Writs were literally showered upon him in vain. Within six months in 1843 no fewer than thirty-four of these were issued against him by one attorney. For the leading part he took in 1844 in detecting a daring attempt at imposition when a horse called Running Rein that was over age won the Derby he was offered a testimonial of £2100 which he refused to accept, but which, on his suggestion, was made the nucleus of the Bentinck Benevolent and Provident Fund for trainers and jockeys. Shortly afterwards he retired from the turf, leaving it relieved from many of its evils and restored to a character it never should have lost.

From the time he entered Parliament down till 1845 Lord George Bentinck was, as became his birth, a Whig of the Revolution era. In his political actions he had been largely influenced by Canning, and when the Canningites had withdrawn their support from the Administration of the Duke of Wellington he remained true to them. He supported the cause of Catholic Administration, and, generally, the Reform Bill. On the question of the appropriation of the funds of the Church in Ireland to secular purposes he left the Whigs and joined the ranks of the Conservative Opposition, and when in 1841 Sir Robert Peel came into office he was offered, but declined, an administrative post. It was in 1845, when Sir Robert Peel brought forward his proposals for the abolition of the duties on corn, that Lord George found his true vocation, as the champion of protection. At the outset he seems to have been as indignant over what he regarded as the treachery of Peel as he was concerned for the fiscal *status quo*. "What I cannot bear is being sold," he declared. He found a good friend and an able counsellor in Disraeli. Once thoroughly convinced, as he came to be, that the ministerial policy would ruin the country, he spared no pains to master the case for protection, applying his powerful mind to the massing and grouping of details

and statistics, and although he never became a first-rate speaker, the speeches that he delivered formed excellent and informative reading. In his first big speech he took the House by surprise by his grip of the position, by the way he handled and marshalled his statistics, and by the force and pungency of the reproaches he hurled at Peel, and at the close of the debate he carried with him into the lobby 242 out of 581 Members who voted; a minority that he described as "proud in the chastity of their honour." The protectionists fought the Bill by every means in their power, availing themselves of the opportunity offered by an Irish Coercion Bill to delay the passing of the measure. Lord George predicted confidently that there would be no reciprocity at the instance of foreign States, and argued that the only hope of securing the reciprocity anticipated by the Ministerialists lay in making free trade contingent on it. The Bill eventually passed, but Bentinck had his revenge on Peel by defeating him on the second reading of the Irish Coercion Bill and throwing him out of office. Lord John Russell, who succeeded, carried the anti-protectionist movement still further, and Lord George opposed with the same ardour and vehemence as before. To meet the distress in Ireland he urged a scheme for lending sixteen millions sterling for the construction of railways, and although his plan was rejected by 332 votes to 118, the Government afterwards adopted the principle of lending money to Ireland to be employed in reproductive works.

While Bentinck thus led the Tory party on the fiscal question, he did not withdraw the strong favour he had always entertained for the principles of religious liberty, and there was a lack of accord in consequence, which culminated when he expressed the opinion that the Catholic priesthood of Ireland should be endowed out of the land, and when he voted for Lord John Russell's resolution in favour of the admission of Jews to Parliament. Owing to these differences he resigned the protectionist leadership, in which, as he said to Mr.

Disraeli, he had shaken his constitution. That he might be unhampered, he had broken up his racing establishment, and it was with a certain measure of mortification that he learned that Lord Clifden's Surplice, bred out of his favourite mare Crucifix, and sold by him with the rest of the stud, had won the Derby. "All my life," he said to Mr. Disraeli the next day, "have I been trying for this, and for what have I sacrificed it?" His friend tried in vain to comfort him. "You do not know," was his reply, "what the Derby is." To the continuance of the crusade against protection he maintained a stout resistance to the close.

In September, 1848, Lord George went down to Welbeck, and on the 21st of the month he set out to walk to Thoresby, the seat of Lord Manvers, a distance of six miles. He had only reached a distance of a mile from Welbeck when he succumbed to a heart spasm, and his lifeless body was found lying on the ground. He was buried without state in the old parish church of Marylebone, the burying place of his house. The respect in which he was held was evidenced by the ships in all the ports to which the news of his death had come flying their flags half-mast. Lord George Bentinck never was married. His character is written in the events of his life. It is interesting, however, to note the estimate which he had formed of himself. Writing to an Irish correspondent a few days before his death, he said—"I don't care twopence for ill-earned popularity. I am for those who obey, and not for those who break the laws. . . . I can say with Burke, 'I was not made for a minion or a tool, and as little can I follow the trade of winning hearts by imposing on the understandings of people.'" That was Lord George Bentinck to the life.

On the death of the fourth Duke he was succeeded in the Dukedom by his elder surviving son, William John Cavendish Bentinck-Scott, born September 18, 1800, and died December 6, 1879, unmarried. His Grace lived for the most part the life of a recluse. He

took a special interest in the enlargement and beautifying of Welbeck Abbey. This stately home of the Bentincks occupies the site of an old Premonstratensian Abbey, and was purchased in 1606 by Sir Charles Cavendish, the father of the first Duke of Newcastle, whose far-away heiress married in 1734 the second Duke of Portland. It stands in a park ten miles in circumference, and is a Palladian edifice of mainly the 17th and 18th centuries. To the fifth Duke it owes its semi-underground picture gallery and ballroom, and the riding school, which is 385 feet long, 164 feet wide, and 57 feet high.

The sixth and present Duke of Portland, Sir William John Arthur Charles James Cavendish Bentinck, G.C.V.O., P.C., cousin to his predecessor, was born December 6, 1857. His Grace, who is Lord-Lieutenant of Caithness and Nottinghamshire, has the appointment of two family trustees of the British Museum, is Deputy-Lieutenant for Ayrshire, County Councillor for Notts, late Lieutenant-Colonel Hon. Artillery of London, formerly Lieutenant Coldstream Guards, Honourable Company 4th Battalion Sherwood Foresters, and of the 1st Notts Rifle Volunteers, Master of the Horse 1886 to 1892, and from 1895 to 1905; married, June 11, 1889, Winifred Anna, only daughter of Thomas Yorke Dallas-Yorke, of Walmsgate, Lincolnshire, D.L., and has issue—William Arthur Henry, Marquis of Titchfield, born March 16, 1893; Lady Victoria Alexandrina Violet, born February 28, 1890; and Lord Francis Morven Dallas, born July 27, 1900.

## CHAPTER V

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### THE MARQUISATE OF BUTE

It was not until 1792 that the noble family of which the Marquess of Bute is the head became territorially connected with the county of Ayr. On 12th October of the year mentioned, John, Viscount Mount-Stuart, married at Dumfries House Elizabeth Penelope, child and heiress of Patrick Macdowall Crichton, Earl of Dumfries, and it was their elder son who became fifth Earl and second Marquess. Up till the end of the eighteenth century, therefore, it may be said that although closely connected with several prominent Ayrshire families by marriage, the Bute family had little or no direct association with the history of the shire. Since that period the connection has been both direct and vital enough to warrant us in going back to the early days when "the black Stewart," a natural son of King Robert II., the founder of the house, obtained "a fair estate" in the Principality and Stewardry of Scotland and became hereditary Sheriff of the islands of Bute and Arran, and in tracing the history of the family from then till now.

John Stewart, the founder of the family, was born to high estate. The son of the King, he had for half-brothers King Robert III. and the Regent Albany, and the former granted him the lands of Ardmulese and Grenane in Bute and Coregelle in Arran, as well as grants



from the royal lands in each of the islands. He added to his possessions by purchase the half lands of Fennock in the barony of Renfrew, and his heritages in Bute were increased by the addition of the lands of Barrone. The only event of general interest in the Sheriff's life, which appears to have ended about 1444-45, was that he was one of the hostages for James I. of Scotland, who, from early youth up to his thirtieth year, had been a captive at the Court of the English King. On his death he was succeeded first by his son James and then by his second son William, who was the Keeper of the Castle of Brodick when it was captured and destroyed by Donald Balloch in 1453. After William came James, who obtained by charter an acre of the lands of Kilchattan, with license to erect a mill on them. James, who died in 1477, left four sons and one daughter.

This daughter, Jonet, had a somewhat chequered marital career. To begin with, she was married to a son of the Earl of Argyll, Archibald Campbell of Skipness. When this marriage was dissolved by divorce, she wedded Ninian Bannatyne of Kames, whose wife she was for more than twenty-five years. Then, apparently, it suited her husband to remember that she was his third cousin, and he moved the Church to dissolve the union. This done, Bannatyne married his own cousin, doubly related to him by blood, but he took care to obtain a Papal dispensation to do away with the impediment.

The eldest of the four brothers, James, succeeded his father in 1477, while yet a minor, and died soon after 1488, making way for his brother, Ninian Stewart. Ninian was created hereditary Captain and Keeper of the Royal Castle of Rothesay, and he added to his holdings by the acquisition of Kildonan, etc., in Arran. During his time Bute was plundered and burned by Colin, Earl of Argyll. On the restoration of peace, in 1518, Ninian and his eight sons entered into a bond of manrent—an agreement involving protection on the one side and allegiance on the other—to James, Earl of Arran.

Ninian was thrice married—first to a lady named Campbell; second, to Janet Dunlop; and third, to Elizabeth Blair, a daughter of John Blair of that Ilk.

It was in the beginning of 1539 that Sir James Stewart succeeded his father as Sheriff of Bute and Captain of Rothesay Castle, and he added to his possessions by the acquisition of further estate in Arran. He got into serious trouble with the Regent Arran, the Earl of Argyll, and Macdonald of Dunivaig. According to the Sheriff's account, Arran and Argyll conspired to secure his forfeiture, the intention being to bestow his lands in Arran upon Macdonald, to whom Argyll was indebted. They alleged that he had assisted the English in 1544 to plunder Bute, Arran, and Dunoon. Sir James refused to yield to force. He held the Castle of Rothesay against the dependants of the Regent and then against Bannatyne of Kames at the instigation of Argyll. When they found they could not attain their end in this fashion, they had him summoned to stand his trial before Parliament, 1548-49. On his way thither, he took a protest in Glasgow that he went under compulsion; and in Edinburgh he protested further that he could get no procurator to act for him, and that for fear of his life he had gone through the form of selling the greater part of the confiscated lands to the Regent for 4000 merks. The Sheriff seems to have had the worst of the transaction. Arran secured a considerable part of the lands of the island from which he took his title, but whether he ever paid for them is open to serious doubt; and, whether or not, the Sheriff regarded the transaction as one into which he had been unwarrantably forced, and he protested on his deathbed that the bargain ought to be annulled. He made some amend for the loss of his Arran lands by adding to his estate in Bute.

Sir James was twice married, first to a daughter of the Earl of Argyll, and then to Marion Fairlie, a daughter of Fairlie of that Ilk, and widow of Thomas Boyd of Linn. He was succeeded, between 1570 and 1573, by

his son John. John enjoyed the favour and friendship of King James VI., and had reason to expect the restoration of the lost lands in Arran, as a result of the forfeiture of the Hamiltons, but, unfortunately for him, the Hamiltons won their way back into power and favour, and the coveted Arran heritage was lost to the Stewarts for the last time. But he also bettered his position in Bute through the enlargement of his holding and the consolidation of his rights. He was thrice married, first to a daughter of Campbell of Skipnish, then to the widow of Campbell of Auchinbreck, and third to Jean, daughter of John Blair of that Ilk and widow of Alexander Cuninghame, Commendator of Kilwinning. John Stewart died before October 16, 1610, and was succeeded by his son, Sir John, who died between March, 1618, and March, 1619, and who in turn was succeeded by his son Sir James Stewart of Ardmaleish and of Kirkton, Baronet. In the struggle between Charles I. and the Scots Parliamentary party, he took the side of the King, and had his estates sequestrated, but he seems to have reconsidered his position; he represented Buteshire in Parliament, 1643-48, and was a Judge for the trial of delinquents. When Cromwell arrived in Scotland he dispossessed him of the custody of Rothesay Castle, which at the Restoration of Charles II. in 1660 was returned to him badly ruined and partly demolished altogether. Sir James persuaded the King to order a survey of the castle, and the survey took place, but the castle was not repaired. In 1661, when he was nearing his end, he was summoned to the meeting of Parliament, but was unable to go. His "great corpulency and valitudināry state of health," he stated in the petition in which he begged to be excused, prevented him from travelling, "especially at the season of the year when the roads were very deep, and no horse was to be found able to carry him." His first wife was a daughter of Sir Dugall Campbell of Auchinbreck, his second Dame Isobel Boyd, through whom the Bute family made one more connection with Ayrshire.

Sir Dugal Stewart, second Baronet, succeeded in 1662. He appears to have been much encumbered financially and to have passed on a good deal of debt to his son ; and on his death in 1676 his free estate was escheated for debt at the instance of Lord Cochrane. By his wife, a daughter of Sir John Ruthven of Douglass, he had a family of two sons and four daughters. The elder son, Sir James Stewart, the third Baronet, succeeded in 1670. By his marriage, 1680, to Agnes, eldest daughter of Sir George MacKenzie of Rosehaugh, His Majesty's Advocate for Scotland, he obtained the support and the influence necessary to restore the impaired fortunes of the family. He succeeded the forfeited Archibald, Earl of Argyll, as Colonel of the Militia, in the shires of Argyll, Bute, and Dumbarton, Sheriff-Principal of the shire of Tarbet, and Sheriff of Argyll ; and having been admitted to the office of an advocate, he was able to exercise all his judicial offices in person. In 1685, however, the forfeited Earl appeared, in the Sheriff's absence with his regiment, off the island of Bute with several frigates, harried his lands, stormed and took the Castle of Allangreg, and carried off the stores, furniture, books, etc. ; and so reduced the islanders to straits that Sir George MacKenzie wrote from Edinburgh to Boyle of Kelburne asking him to supply them with provisions, and promising to see him reimbursed. It was not long till the King's ships arrived, and captured some of Argyll's vessels, but no mention is made as to how much of the Sheriff's property was recovered.

Sir James represented Buteshire in the Scots Parliament from 1685 to 1693, when his seat was declared vacant because of his failure to take the oath of allegiance. He seems to have done so later, as in 1702 he was re-elected for the shire, was appointed a Privy Councillor, and was made a Commissioner to treat for the Union between Scotland and England. On April 14, 1793, he was created Earl of Bute, Viscount Kingarth, Lord Mount-Stuart, Cumra, and Inchmarnock. During the discussions in Parliament on the treaty with England,

which was adjusted in 1706, he absented himself from Parliament. Dying in 1710, the first Earl was succeeded by his son James, who possessed the Earldom for thirteen years. A Lord of the Bedchamber, he was also Lord-Lieutenant of Bute, and a Representative Peer for Scotland, and he commanded the Bute and Argyllshire Militia during the rebellion of 1715. By the death of his mother's brother, George MacKenzie of Rosehaugh, and of Sir Archibald Cockburn, his sister's eldest son, he succeeded after much litigation, to the estates of his grandfather, Sir George MacKenzie. By his wife, a daughter of the first Duke of Argyll, he had issue three sons and five daughters. On his death, 1723, he was succeeded by John, third Earl of Bute, at that time a boy of nine and a half years of age. He seems to have spent the earlier years of his Earldom on his estates, in the study of botany, and in tree-planting. By 1737 he was a Representative Peer for Scotland, and a Commissioner of Police for Scotland, and began to display those qualities that were destined to constitute him one of the most conspicuous public men of his day. Created, 1738, a Knight of the Thistle, he was in 1750 made a Lord of the Bedchamber to Frederick, Prince of Wales, and, after the Prince's death, Groom of the Stole to his son, Prince George. When the Prince became King—George III.—Bute was retained in the same office till 1761, when he was appointed Principal Secretary of State for the Northern Department. He was also chosen the same year Ranger of Richmond Park, and re-elected, for the first time since 1737, a Scots Representative Peer.

From the time of the King's accession till now the Earl had been virtual Prime Minister, though without a seat in Parliament. He had come into power in the middle of the Seven Years' War, the desperate struggle waged for the possession of Silesia between Frederick the Great of Prussia on the one hand, and a combination, chiefly Austro-Russian, on the other. Britain's sympathies had been with Prussia, and she had given Frederick large material support. Bute's policy was

peace, and he stopped the subsidies to Frederick, but the great Prussian was able nevertheless by a fortuitous concurrence of circumstances, to emerge from the struggle lord of Silesia. It was largely as the result of the Seven Years' War that Great Britain attained to the position of the first commercial nation of the world. Bute carried on war with Spain, 1762, and having the following year concluded a Treaty of Peace with France and Spain, he, in accordance with a stipulation previously made with the King, resigned his post as Prime Minister. His period of office had not been unattended by difficulties. He had the disadvantage, for the time, of being a Scotsman, and the Whigs assailed him vehemently, and, it is said, irrationally; London also was hostile to him, and he experienced a considerable sense of relief when he was able to demit office and to retire into private life. In 1780 he became the first President of the Scottish Antiquaries, and in 1781 Chancellor of Marischal College, Aberdeen, and an honorary Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh. He died in London, March 10, 1792, and was buried in Rothesay. He was married, August 24, 1736, to Mary, only daughter of Edward Wortley Montague, Yorkshire, Ambassador at Constantinople, who eventually succeeded, under her father's will, to his estates in Yorkshire and Cornwall, and was created, 1761, Baroness Mount-Stuart of Wortley, in the county of York, with remainder to heirs male of her then subsisting marriage with the Earl. By the Countess he had five sons and six daughters. One of the sons, Frederick, was M.P. for the Ayr Burghs, 1776-80, and for Buteshire, 1796-1802.

John, the fourth Earl, was born 1744. In 1766 he became M.P. for Bossiney, and the same year he married Charlotte Jane, eldest daughter, and eventually sole heiress, of Herbert Hickman Windsor, Viscount Windsor, and Baron Mountjoy, through whom the estates of the Earls of Pembroke afterwards descended to the house of Bute. In 1772 he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Glamorgan, and in 1776 he was created Baron Cardiff



of Cardiff Castle in the peerage of Great Britain. He was thus a Peer of the realm in his own right, while his father was only a Representative Peer for Scotland. In 1778 he became Colonel of the Glamorgan Militia, and in 1788 he was elected Provost of Rothesay. Made a Privy Councillor in 1779, and British Envoy the same year to Turin, he was appointed, 1783, Ambassador to the Court of Madrid, under the style of Viscount Mountstuart. On his father's death, 1792, he became Earl of Bute, and was appointed the following year Lord-Lieutenant of Bute, and inherited the peerage of Baron Mountstuart of Wortley on the death of his mother. Returning to Madrid, 1795, he held the Ambassadorship till 1796, and that year was created Viscount Mountjoy in the Isle of Wight, Earl of Windsor, and Marquess of the County of Bute. On the death of his first wife, the Marquess married, September, 1800, Frances, daughter of Thomas Coutts of the Strand, banker, who survived her husband and died in 1832. The Marquess died 1814, having had seven sons and two daughters by his first marriage, and a son and daughter by his second.

The eldest son of the first Marquess, John, Viscount Mountstuart, born 1767, predeceased his father. He was M.P. for Cardiff, 1790, and in 1793 his father resigned in his favour the offices of Lord-Lieutenant of Glamorgan-shire, Provost of Rothesay, and Colonel of the Glamorgan Militia. It was through his marriage, as already stated, that the Dumfries House estates in Ayrshire came into the Bute family. He died, January, 1794, as the result of a blow on the head while riding on horseback.

The Viscountess Mountstuart was, as has been said, the sole surviving child of Patrick Macdowall Crichton, fifth and last Earl of Dumfries. The Crichtons had a long and an intimate connection with Ayrshire. The fourth Lord Crichton of Sanquhar, who died 1536, had for his second wife Elizabeth Campbell of West Loudoun, widow of William Wallace of Craigie. James Crichton of Abercrombie, the second son of the fifth Lord Crichton,

had a charter of the lands and barony of Cumnock, December 6, 1643; and one of his daughters married William Crichton, Sheriff-Depute of Ayr. Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of the fifth Lord Crichton, was "trysted" to be married to Alan, Lord Cathcart, on his attaining the age of fourteen, but he refused the marriage, and a penalty had to be paid in default, of £1000 Scots. The sixth Lord Crichton, who died 1561, married Margaret Cuninghame, daughter of John, and sister of William Cuninghame of Caprington, widow of Gilbert Kennedy, younger of Blairquhan. The ninth Lord Crichton is styled of Darnhunch or Darnhaunch, a place in Ayrshire. He was raised to the rank of Viscount, February 2, 1622, being created Viscount of Air; and shortly after, 1633, he was created Earl of Dumfries, Viscount of Air, Lord Crichton of Sanquhar and Cumnock. Charles, Lord Crichton, son of the second Earl, married (contract dated 1679) Sarah, third daughter of James Dalrymple, first Viscount of Stair, and his sister Elizabeth married, 1658, as his first wife, Alexander, Earl of Eglinton. When William, third Earl, died, 1694, unmarried, his sister, Penelope, succeeded to his honours, became Countess of Dumfries, and married, 1698, her cousin, William Dalrymple of Glenmuir, second son of John, first Earl of Stair. Their oldest son, William Crichton Dalrymple, became fourth Earl of Dumfries, and succeeded his younger brother James as fourth Earl of Stair, being styled Earl of Dumfries and Stair. He died at Dumfries House, 1768, and was succeeded by his nephew, Patrick Macdowall Crichton, who was the eldest son of the fourth Earl's sister, the wife of John Macdowall of Freuch. Married to a daughter of Ronald Crauford of Restalrig, he was the father of Elizabeth Penelope Crichton, who became Viscountess Mountstuart. Lady Mountstuart died 1797, and was buried at Cumnock. To the Viscount she bore two sons, John, Lord Mountstuart, afterwards second Marquess of Bute, and Patrick James Herbert, afterwards Lord Patrick James Crichton-Stuart, commonly called Lord

James Stuart, born, after his father's death, August 25, 1794; Lord-Lieutenant for the county of Bute, 1848; M.P. for Bute, 1820-26; for the Ayr Burghs, 1834-52; and for Ayrshire, 1857-58.

The fifth Earl and second Marquess of Bute was born August 10, 1793. His father died when he was five months old, his mother when he was four years of age, and by the death of his maternal grandfather when he was nine and a half years of age he inherited the Earldom of Dumfries. By Royal Warrant, on the petition of his grandfather, he was permitted to use the surname of Crichton before that of Stuart, and to quarter the Crichton arms with those of Stuart. Educated at Cambridge, he travelled extensively in Europe. In 1815, when he was aged twenty-two, he was made Lord-Lieutenant of the counties of Bute and Glamorgan and Colonel of the Glamorgan Militia. In 1842-43-44 he was Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly, and represented the Queen in the famous meetings of the High Court of the Church of Scotland that preceded, that witnessed, and that immediately succeeded the Disruption. In his "Ten Years' Conflict" Buchanan refers to the Marquess as one "whose estimable character and the friendly feeling he was known to cherish towards many of the non-intrusionists, made, and probably were intended to make, his appointment to the high and honourable office be regarded as an olive branch held out by the Government to the Church. His position," he continues, "entitled, and his great wealth enabled, him to appear with all those external attributes of official dignity and splendour which dazzle the multitude. The representative of Royalty had never on any former occasion approached the Supreme Court of Scotland's simple and unpretending Presbyterian Church in such a blaze of grandeur." Politically the Marquess was a supporter of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, and was an early advocate of Catholic emancipation. His principal energies were given, however, to the development of his estates. He recognised to the

full the possibilities of Cardiff, and declared that he would make it "a second Liverpool." His honours included D.C.L. of Oxford, LL.D. of Cambridge, and Knighthood of the Thistle. His Lordship, who died at Cardiff Castle, March 18, 1848, was twice married; first, to a daughter of Lord Guildford, who died in 1841 without issue; and, in 1845, at Loudoun Castle, to Sophia Frederica Christian, born Ferbruary 1, 1809, daughter of the first Marquess of Hastings, and his wife, Flora Muir, Countess of Loudoun in her own right. The only child of the marriage was John Patrick, who succeeded as third Marquess.

The third Marquess of Bute, who was also sixth Earl of Bute and seventh Earl of Dumfries, was born September 12, 1847, at Mount-Stuart. He was given the courtesy title of Earl of Windsor, but at the age of six months he succeeded to his father's Peerages. His mother died when he was nine-and-a-half years old. Educated at Harrow and Oxford, he became, in 1868, Hon. Colonel of the Glamorgan Volunteer Artillery, was a member of the Royal Company of Archers; was created Knight of the Order of the Thistle in 1875; and his other honours and appointments included Mayor of Cardiff, 1890; Lord-Lieutenant of Bute, 1892; Provost of Rothesay, 1896-99; LL.D. of the Universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Edinburgh; President of the University College, Cardiff; twice Lord Rector of the University of St. Andrews; Member of the Scottish Universities Commission, 1889; and President of the British Archæological Association, 1888. The Marquess's tastes were largely of the antiquarian order. Imbued with a deep reverence for the past, he spent his years in archæological research and restoration. He would fain have had the older order in the Parliamentary Government of Scotland restored, and he formulated a plan with that end in view. He wrote voluminously on antiquarian subjects, his works evincing careful study and accurate discrimination. The same spirit of reverence for other days impelled him to the restoration

of the castles of Rothesay and Cardiff, Castle Koch, Falkland Palace, the Old Place of Mochrum, Crichton Peel, the Priors of Pluscardine and St. Andrews, and several churches. It was probably to a large extent owing to his lordship's veneration for the past that, shortly after coming of age, he embraced the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church and joined himself to that Communion. To the University of St. Andrews he presented a Medical Hall, to that of Glasgow a University Hall. His Lordship, who enjoyed wide national respect, died at Dumfries House, October 8, 1900. His heart was conveyed by his instructions to Jerusalem and buried, in presence of his family, on the Mount of Olives, and his body was laid in the chapel by the shore at Mount Stuart. He married, April 16, 1872, Gwendolen Mary Anne, eldest daughter of George Edward Fitzalan Howard, second son of Henry, thirteenth Duke of Norfolk, K.G., and had issue—John, who succeeded as fourth Marquess; Ninian Edward, born May 15, 1883; Colum Edmund, born April 8, 1886; and Margaret, born December 24, 1875.

John, seventh Earl and fourth Marquess of Bute and eighth Earl of Dumfries, was born June 20, 1881, and succeeded his father in 1900. He was educated at Harrow and Oxford, and is a member of the King's Bodyguard for Scotland, the Royal Company of Archers. His Lordship married, July 6, 1905, Augusta Bellingham, youngest daughter of Sir Henry Bellingham, Castle Bellingham, County Louth, and has issue, a daughter.

ARMS—Quarterly, 1st and 4th, or, a fess chequy azure and argent, within a double tressure flory-counter-flory gules, for Stuart; 2nd and 3rd, a lion rampant azure, armed and langued gules, for Crichton. Crests—A demi-lion rampant gules, for Stuart; a dragon vert, breathing flames proper, for Crichton; a wyvern vert, charged on the breast with a cross-crosslet or, holding in its mouth a sinister hand couped at the wrist gules, for Herbert. Supporters—Dexter, a horse argent, bridled gules; sinister, a stag proper.

## CHAPTER VI


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### THE EARLDOM OF LOUDOUN

To get to the origin of the Loudoun family in Ayrshire one must go back to the days when David I. was on the throne (1084-1153), and when Richard de Morville was Constable of Scotland. De Morville was a man of princely estate. He was lord of Cuninghame, and of many lands beyond it, and he seems to have been as generous to his friends and vassals as he was rich in his gifts towards the Church.

It was from De Morville that James de Loudoun, son of Lambinus, obtained a charter of the lands that still bear his name. This James left an only daughter and heiress, Margaret de Loudoun, who married Sir Reginald de Crawford, heritable Sheriff of the County of Ayr. Their eldest son, Hugh de Crawford de Loudoun, succeeded his father, and a daughter of his, Margaret, "a lady bright," according to Wintoun, became the wife of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Elderslie, and the mother of Sir William Wallace, the national hero of Scotland. The fifth of the Crawfurds of Loudoun, Sir Reginald, was contemporary with his cousin, was a strenuous supporter of the cause championed by the latter, and fell fighting for his country in 1303. He left an only daughter, Susannah, who married Sir Duncan Campbell, grandson of Sir Colin More Campbell, ancestor of the Dukes of Argyll, and left a son, Sir Andrew Campbell of Loudoun, heritable Sheriff of Ayr, who is mentioned in a charter



dated 1307. His son, Hugh, appears to have been a man of some eminence. He was one of the Barons who were appointed to meet James I. at Durham in 1423, and John Campbell, a son of Hugh, was one of the hostages for the ransom of the King the following year. This Sir John, son and heir of George, was one of the Scottish nobility who accompanied Margaret, daughter of James II., to France, on the occasion of her marriage with the Dauphin: he died about 1450. His widow bequeathed funds to support a chapel, in 1451. This little kirk became Loudoun Kirk, and its remains, the sanctuary of many members of the noble family so long identified with the district, may be seen to this day. Sir John died childless, and he was succeeded by his brother, Sir George, who received a charter conferring on him the hereditary Sheriffship of Ayr. 

These are but scanty memories of the olden days when as yet this family was in its comparative youth, but they are memories nevertheless of those who played their part in the stormy history of a changeful period in Scotland. The Campbells played their part, and no inconspicuous part either, in the evolution of the county. They were interwoven by marriage with the Kennedys of Carrick, with the Cuninghames, with the Wallaces, and with the family of Auchinleck, and they shared with these and with other notable families of the olden time in the troubles and trials of the period.

It has already been told in the story of the Kennedys, how, in the autumn of 1527, when Gilbert, the second Earl of Cassillis, was at Prestwick, possibly holding a Court, he was set upon by a strong party of Kyle feudalists, led by Sir Hugh Campbell, the Sheriff of Ayr, and assassinated; and tradition, if not authentic history, has handed on the tale of the revenge perpetrated upon the Campbells by the Carrick men, when they fired the Campbell keep of Achruglen and roasted the lady of Loudoun and her children in the pyre. The law reciprocated more swiftly in this case of the Earl's slaughter than in these days it was wont to do. In the

succeeding October, on a Sabbath day, the diet was called in the Court of Justiciary against the Sheriff. He failed to appear, and James, Earl of Arran, was amerced in a hundred pounds for his failure to underlie the law. Arran had apparently become surety for him. Campbell was denounced rebel, and all his moveable goods were ordained to be forfeited. A large number of his friends and followers, including the Craufurds of Leffnoris, Campbell of Cessnock, and the Craufurds of Kerse and Drongan, found caution at the same Court to underlie the law for the same crime, at the forthcoming Justiciary Court at Ayr. Dame Isabella Wallace, Lady Loudoun, was accused of being a party to the slaughter, but her curate, Sir William Bankhede, and other two witnesses, appeared and testified that she was sick.

The criminal annals of the period contain numerous references to this crime, for which, unless it may have been in the reprisal of the Kennedys, nobody seems to have suffered in the end very seriously. The records supply proof otherwise of the feudal antipathies of the Campbells and the other Kyle barons. In the national controversy that raged, with the Duke of Albany on the one side and the Hamiltons and Douglasses on the other, the Earl of Cassillis sided with Albany, Sir Hugh Campbell with his rivals; and, apart from the immediately domestic broils of the Ayrshire families, this more national antagonism no doubt had its share in accentuating the hostility entertained by the Kyle barons to the lord of Carrick.

The first of the Campbells to attain to nobility was Sir Hugh, first Lord Loudoun, Sheriff of Ayr, and a Privy Councillor in Scotland, whom James VI., June 30, 1601, created a Lord of Parliament by the title of Lord Campbell of Loudoun. His lordship married, first, in 1572, Margaret, daughter of Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, and had issue, John, Master of Loudoun, who died before his father, leaving issue by his wife, a daughter of John, first Earl of Wigton, Margaret, who succeeded her father in the barony of Loudoun, and Elizabeth, who

married Sir Hugh Campbell of Cessnock ; second, Lady Isabel Ruthven, daughter of William Earl of Gowrie, the divorced wife of Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar, by whom he had two daughters, one married to Sir David Cunninghame of Cunninghamehead, the other to David Craufurd of Kerse ; and, third, to Margaret, daughter of Sir George Home of Wedderburn, and widow of Thomas Makdougall of Makerston, by whom he had no issue. He died in 1622, and was succeeded by his granddaughter, Margaret, Baroness Loudoun, who married in 1629 Sir John Campbell of Lawers, who was elevated to the peerage, May 12, 1633, by the titles of Baron Farrinyeane and Mauchline, and Earl of Loudoun, to him and to his heirs male for ever.

Born in 1598, the Earl's sympathies were early with the Presbyterian cause, and when, about 1637, the second Reformation struggle began, he at once identified himself with the movement and became a principal promoter of it. He was largely endowed with the gift of eloquence, and when the General Assembly sat at Glasgow in 1638, he attended almost every session of it, and proved himself a valuable auxiliary, not only by the excellent speeches he delivered, but by the wise counsel he was able to offer in the adjustment of the many difficult matters that came before it. Two years before, on the authority of the King alone, the Bishops had resumed their Episcopal costumes, and the use of the new Service Book had been ordered without the approval of the General Assembly. Against these innovations on the Presbyterian form of church service the Kirk protested strongly, and Loudoun not the least forcibly. The right of the King to compel obedience to his own behests, and merely by virtue of the royal authority, he stoutly denied, and he told the Marquis of Hamilton, the King's Commissioner, that " they knew no other bonds betwixt a King and his subjects, but religion and laws ; that, if these were broken, men's lives were not dear to them ; that they would not be so ; that such fears were past with them." These were bold words, and they were

followed by bold deeds. The King, seeing that Episcopacy was in danger, flew to arms with a view to the restoration of his absolute authority over the Kirk. With the assistance of his friends, the Earl seized the castles of Strathaven, Douglas, and Tantallon, and garrisoned them ; and he marched with the Scots army, commanded by General Leslie, to the Border, and acted as one of the commissioners at the shortlived pacification of Berwick. Their demand, he told the King, was only to enjoy their religion and liberties, according to the ecclesiastical and civil laws of the kingdom. " If that was all that was desired," the King replied, " the peace would soon be made." The King, with a view to obtaining time, came to terms, and the articles of pacification were subscribed by the commissioners of both sides, in view of both armies, June, 18, 1639.

The treaty, however, was shortlived. Charles abrogated it on the ground that the Scots had broken its terms ; a fact that Loudoun stoutly denied. In the ensuing General Assembly the Earl defended Presbytery as against Episcopacy. The latter, he said, had been " put out, as wanting warrant from the Word of God," and the former " put in, as having that divine warrant." The Assembly deputed the Earls of Loudoun and Dunfermline to represent their cause to the King, but ere they could reach the Court, orders were delivered to them, discharging them in the King's name from coming within a mile of him. On March 3, 1640, however, the two Earls had an interview with Charles at Whitehall, at which Archbishop Laud was present. The King conceded nothing ; on the contrary, availing himself of Loudoun's presence in London, he charged him with having been in disloyal communication with the King of France, and ordered his arrest. The Earl was conveyed to the Tower, where he was confined for some months, without either legal trial or conviction. According to Burnett, the King was advised to proceed capitally against him ; according to other authorities, he went so far as to order his execution, and was only

stayed by the powerful remonstrance of the Marquis of Hamilton, who told him that such an act would be a violation of the safe conduct he had given the Earl, that it would lose Scotland to him, and that it would imperil his own life. Impressed by the reasoning, the King had the warrant torn up, and shortly afterwards he permitted Loudoun to return home. By this time Charles was in a position to attempt to suppress the Scots, and he put himself at the head of an army for that purpose. The Scots at once took the field and marched into England, the Earl of Loudoun with them in command of a brigade of horse. The rival forces came into collision at Newburn, where the Scots were making the passage of the Tyne; and, the skirmish going against the King, the royal army retreated upon York. A second treaty was agreed upon at Ripon, and ratified later in London, the Earl again being one of the Scots commissioners. In the capital the commissioners were "highly caressed by the Parliament." In 1641 Charles visited Scotland in person and conferred offices and titles of honour upon "the prime Covenanters who were thought most capable to do him service." It was at first proposed that Loudoun should be Treasurer, but the King, "judging more wisely, and thinking it would be more difficult to find a fit person for the Chancery," resolved to make him Chancellor; and accordingly, "the principal manager of the rebellion," as Clarendon calls him, was appointed Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, September 30, 1641, with a pension of £1000 a year and with the restoration of his Earldom, which the King had cancelled as a mark of his disapprobation. On October 2, he took the oath of office and received from the King the great seal. Rising immediately from his seat at the right hand of the Lord President of Parliament, and addressing the monarch, he said: "Preferment comes neither from the east nor from the west, but from God alone. I acknowledge I have this from your Majesty as from God's viceregent upon the earth, and the fountain of all earthly honour here, and I will endeavour to answer

that expectation your Majesty has of me, and to deserve the goodwill of this honourable House in faithfully discharging what you both, without desert of mine, have put upon me." Then, kissing His Majesty's hand, he returned to his seat.

In 1642 the position in England between Charles and the Parliament had become very much strained, and Loudoun was sent by the conservators of the peace to offer mediation, with a view to bringing about a firm and a lasting peace. He had various conferences with Charles at York, but, failing in his object, he returned to Scotland. When the civil war broke out he was one of the Scotch commissioners who went south to mediate for peace, but instead of accepting the good offices of the Scots, Charles denied their right to mediate at all, and refused to sanction their proceeding to London for that purpose. In 1643 the Earl was appointed a commissioner to the General Assembly by the burgh of Irvine, but declined to act; and he was invited the same year to attend the discussions of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster. He made a third effort in 1645 to convince the King of the folly of holding out against the demands of the English party, but again without avail. The following year, when the King was virtually a prisoner of the Scots army at Newcastle, the Earl besought him on his knees to give his people satisfaction in the matter of religion and to take the Covenant. "The difference between your Majesty and your Parliament," he said to the King, "is grown to such a height that, after many bloody battles, they have your Majesty, with all your garrisons and strongholds, in their hands. They are in a capacity to do now what they will, in Church and State; and some are afraid, and others unwilling, to proceed to extremities, till they know your Majesty's last resolution. Now, Sire, if your Majesty refuse your assent to the propositions, you will lose all your friends in the House and in the city, and all England shall join against you as one man. They will depose you and set up another Government. They will charge us to deliver your Majesty



to them, and remove our arms out of England ; and upon your refusal we will be obliged to settle religion and peace without you ; which will ruin your Majesty and your posterity. We own the propositions are higher in some things than we approve of, but the only way to establish your Majesty is to consent to them at present. Your Majesty may recover, in a time of peace, all that you have lost in a time of tempest and trouble." But the King remained obdurate.

In 1647 the Earl was once more a commissioner to treat with Charles, but with no better success. With marked fidelity to the Covenant, he combined loyalty to the King in spite of all his obduracy, and after Charles was a prisoner in the hands of the Parliament he approved of the movement initiated by the Marquis of Hamilton to march an army into England to effect his release ; but, on second thoughts, and " by conversing with some of the protestors who discovered to him his mistake," he withdrew his approval, and subscribed " an admonition to more steadfastness." In addition, he did public penance in the High Church of Edinburgh for the part he had originally taken. When the Marquis of Montrose was brought to the bar to receive sentence, Loudoun commented with severity upon his conduct.

When Charles I. had finished his course at Whitehall, and the Scots called Charles II. home and crowned him King, the Earl of Loudoun was much exercised because of the character of many of the men whom he appointed to high offices and to places of trust. He had taken part in the coronation of the young King at Scone, January 1, 1650, and he was present at the battle of Dunbar, where the Scots were defeated by Cromwell with great loss. Among the spoils of war that fell to the Lord High Protector was a bundle of the Earl's letters, which came into Cromwell's hands, and were published by order of the Parliament. Still adhering to the royal cause, he retired into the Highlands after the battle of Worcester, and in 1653 joined the Earl of Glencairn and other Royalists who had risen in the King's favour. It was

not long before dissensions broke out among the leaders of this hopeless movement, and the Earl, recognising how futile it was, left the camp and retired further north. Later, he surrendered to General Monck, but he had so far committed himself that both he and his eldest son, Lord Mauchline, were excepted from Cromwell's act of indemnity. The Countess of Loudoun received a grant of £400 a year from the revenues of her husband's estates.

There is no record of how the Earl spent his time during the Cromwell occupation of Scotland; it is believed, however, that he lived a private life, as so many of the Scots nobles of the period did. Upon the Restoration, notwithstanding all he had done for the royal cause, he was deprived of the Chancellorship, which had been granted to him for life; his pension, however, was not interfered with. Charles II. was no better friend to the cause of the Covenant than his father had been, and it was not long before he began to exercise that malignant influence that was destined to make his reign so disastrous to the people of Scotland. When the Marquis of Argyll was under a charge of high treason, the Earl of Loudoun, in the first session of Parliament, 1661, spoke strongly in favour of his friend, but in vain; it had been determined that the Marquis should die, and to the scaffold he went. Loudoun had only too much reason to conclude that he himself might be the next victim. According to Covenanting history, "he often exhorted his excellent lady to pray fast that he might never see the next session of Parliament, else he might follow his dear friend the Marquis of Argyll; and the Lord granted his request; for he died in a most Christian manner at Edinburgh, March 15, 1663, and his corpse was carried home and interred with his ancestors." A friendly historian sums up his character in these words:—"He was a most exquisite orator in the Senate, a refined politician, an honour to his name, an ornament to this nation; and in every virtue, in politic, social, and domestic life, a pattern to be imitated." The estimate, however, appears to have been fairly earned.

On the death of the first Earl, he was succeeded by his only son James, second Earl of Loudoun, who married Lady Margaret Montgomerie, daughter of Hugh, seventh Earl of Eglinton, by whom he had three sons and four daughters. His third son, Sir James Campbell of Lawers, entered the army, and greatly distinguished himself at the hard fought battle of Malplaquet, September 11, 1709. In this battle the Scots Greys, of which regiment Sir James was Lieutenant-Colonel, were stationed in front of the right of the allied line, and, although he had been ordered to remain where he was, seeing the issue of the battle to be doubtful, he charged with his men right through the ranks of the enemy and back again. So notable was the effect of the charge, and so resultful, that after the victory had been won, Campbell was publicly thanked before the army by Prince Eugene for having exceeded his orders. After the battle of Utrecht, he returned home and became an ardent politician, and a warm supporter of the Hanoverian succession. In 1717 he was made Colonel of the Scots Greys, and in 1727 he was elected M.P. for Ayrshire. When George II. came to the throne, he promoted Campbell to be Major-General, and a Groom of the Bedchamber, and in 1738 appointed him Governor and Constable of Edinburgh Castle. In 1742 when war again broke out with France, he returned to the field, and at the battle of Dettingen, 1743, charged the household troops of France and was invested a Knight of the Bath on the field of battle by the King. Two years later, at the battle of Fontenoy, he headed with great gallantry many unsuccessful charges against the army of Marshal Saxe, but towards the close of the day his leg was carried off by a cannon ball, and he died on the field and was buried at Brussels. Sir James was married to Lady Jean Boyle, daughter of the first Earl of Glasgow, and his only son, James Mure Campbell, succeeded as fifth Earl of Loudoun, and was the father of Flora, Countess of Loudoun, and Marchioness of Hastings.

The second Earl of Loudoun was, like his father, strong on the Covenanting side ; so much so that, during the time of the persecution, he felt compelled to retire from Scotland and live at Leyden in Holland. His Countess appears to have remained at home in Ayrshire during the greater part of his exile. The Earl knew the danger that was involved in correspondence with his wife, and to divert the suspicion of the authorities from his letters, he addressed them " To the Guidwife at the Auldtoun, at the auld yew tree, Loudoun, Scotland." " The Auldtoun " was, and is still, the little village not far from the castle gates, and the " auld yew tree " remains to this day fresh and vigorous, and, apart from its historical associations, a unique and beautiful example of its kind. It is said to have been there as far back as the days of De Morville and the first charter to the lands of Loudoun in the person of the founder of the family and his heirs for ever ; and it is historical that under its branches, Hugh, the third Earl, subscribed the Articles of the Union between Scotland and England. The second Earl died at Leyden.

When the second Earl of Loudoun died at Leyden, he was succeeded by his son Hugh, third Earl of Loudoun, 1684. Two years later he took his seat in Parliament, and was sworn a Privy Councillor in 1687. On February 7, 1699, through the influence of the Earl, afterwards the first Duke of Argyll, he was appointed an extraordinary Lord of Session. Argyll held him in high esteem. Commending him to Secretary Carstairs, " pray," he wrote, " let not Earl Melvill's unreasonable pretending to the vacant gown slack as to Earl Loudoun, who, though a younger man, is an older and more noted Presbyterian than he. Loudoun has it in his blood, and is a mettled young fellow, that those who recommend him will gain honour by him. He has a deal of natural parts and sharpness, a good stock of clergy, and, by being in business, will daily improve." He remained in this office through life, behaving, according to Lockhart, " to all men's satisfaction, studying to understand the

laws and conditions of the Kingdom, and determine accordingly." On the accession of Queen Anne he was again sworn a member of the Scotch Privy Council, and from 1702-4 served as one of the Commissioners of the Scotch Treasury. In 1704 he was appointed Joint Secretary of State with the Marquis of Annandale, and later with the Earl of Mar. In March, 1706, he was made one of the Commissioners for the Union, and on August 10, 1707, was invested at Windsor with the Order of the Thistle. He was also appointed Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland during the Queen's pleasure, May 25, 1708, and the same year was sworn a member of the English Privy Council. In addition to his salary of £3000, the Queen granted him a pension of £2000 a year. In 1713, disapproving of some of the measures of the Tory Administration, he was deprived of the office of Keeper of the Great Seal. The year following, on the accession of George I., he was again sworn a Privy Councillor, and in 1715 was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ayrshire. He fought as a volunteer, and with great gallantry, under the second Duke of Argyll, at the battle of Sheriffmuir. In 1722, 1725, 1726, 1728, and 1731 he acted as Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. In 1727 he received a pension of £2000 a year for life. At the Union, and at six following general elections, he was chosen one of the sixteen Scotch Representative Peers. He died November 20, 1731. The third Earl married, 1700, Lady Margaret Dalrymple, daughter of John, first Earl of Stair, by whom he had a son, who succeeded him, and two daughters.

On the death of the Earl the Countess took up her residence at Sorn Castle and set herself to the improving and the beautifying of the estate with an ardour and a success that gave her a high place among the agricultural and aboricultural pioneers of Ayrshire. "Besides her personal charms, which were considerable, she had," says the "Statistical Account," "acquired a large portion of those mental and liberal accomplishments which so

much adorned the brilliant Courts of Queen Anne and George I., and possessed moreover in a high degree that dignity of character and deportment, and that vigorous and active spirit by which her brother (the second Earl of Stair), the celebrated Ambassador, was so eminently distinguished." When she went to live at Sorn the whole aspect of the parish was dreary and uncomfortable, there was neither road nor hedge, and there were very few trees to be seen. She set herself to renovate her environment, made walks, planted fruit and forest trees, and pruned the growing timber with her own hands. "These, her useful labours," says the parish minister, "did not pass unrewarded. When she first settled in this country her constitution and health appeared to be entirely broken, but in the course of her rural occupations these were gradually re-established, insomuch that during the last fifty years of her life she enjoyed an uncommon share of health and cheerfulness. After an illness of a few days she died on the 3rd of April, 1777, regretted by her friends and the industrious poor, to whom she had so long been a benefactor. Had she lived till the 4th of September the same year she would have completed the hundredth year of her age."

John, fourth Earl (1705-1782), entered the Army in 1727, was appointed Governor of Stirling Castle, 1741, and became aide-de-camp to the King two years later. When the rebellion of 1745 broke out he raised a regiment of Highlanders in support of the Government, of which he was appointed Colonel, and he acted under Sir John Cope as Adjutant-General. At the battle of Prestonpans, September 21, nearly the whole of Loudoun's Highlanders fell under the claymores of the hostile clansmen. The Earl exerted himself, with the Earl of Home and Sir John Cope, to persuade the cavalry to stand firm and to check the slaughter that was indiscriminately going on, but in vain; the troops had become so demoralised by the fierce onslaughts of the enemy that a few stray bullets sent them scampering to the rear, and the day was lost. The Earl sailed for the north in a sloop of war. Within



six weeks he had raised a force of two thousand men, with whom he relieved Fort Augustus, blockaded by the Frasers under the Master of Lovat, whom he captured with a view to retaining him as a hostage until the Frasers had delivered up their arms. Lord Lovat was lodged in Inverness, and made good his escape during the night. In February, 1746, the Earl formed the design of surprising Prince Charles Edward at Moy Castle, the seat of the Macintoshes ; but his design was frustrated by the capture of Inverness by the Highlanders, and he was forced to retire into Sutherlandshire, whence, reaching the coast, he embarked with 800 men for Skye ; and, so far as he was concerned, this ended his share in the rising.

On February 17, 1756, the Earl was appointed Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of Virginia, and, March 20, Commander of the British forces in America. He was in New York in July, and at once repaired to Albany to assume command of the forces there. The French had made themselves masters of Forts Oswego and Ontario, and Loudoun spent his time in Halifax instead of trying to bring matters to a climax, and was recalled. It was said of him by a Philadelphian that he was "like King George upon the signposts, always on horseback, but never advancing." When war broke out with Spain in 1762 he was second in command of the British troops sent to Portugal. He died unmarried at Loudoun Castle, April 27, 1782, and the title passed to his cousin, James Mure Campbell, only son of Sir James Campbell of Lawers, youngest son of the second Earl. The fourth Earl did much to improve the grounds of Loudoun Castle, specially by the planting of willows in the various plantations, and when he was abroad he made it his care to send large numbers of trees home to beautify his domain.

Of James, the fifth Earl of Loudoun, comparatively little is recorded. He married, in 1777, Flora, eldest daughter of John Macleod of Rasay. He assumed the additional surname of Mure upon inheriting the estates

of his grandmother, the Countess of Glasgow, and died April 26, 1786, when he was succeeded by his only child, a daughter, Flora, born 1780, who married, July 12, 1804, Francis, first Marquis of Hastings, and died January 8, 1840, when she was succeeded by her son, George Augustus Francis, second Marquis of Hastings and seventh Earl of Loudoun.

The Hastings family into which the Countess married was of Anglo-Norman lineage. The first Baronet, Sir George Rawdon, had taken an active part in Ireland as military commander during the rebellion of 1641; the third Baronet had been Speaker of the Irish House of Commons; his son had been elevated to the Peerage of Ireland, 1750, as Baron Rawdon of Rawdon, County Down, and created Earl of Moira, 1762, and had married, as his third wife, Lady Elizabeth Hastings, eldest daughter of the ninth Earl of Huntingdon, who inherited the baronies of Hastings upon the demise of her brother, the tenth Earl of Huntingdon, without issue. It was their eldest son, Francis, who married the Countess of Loudoun. In 1816 he was created a Peer of the United Kingdom by the titles of Viscount Loudoun, Earl of Rawdon, and Marquis of Hastings.

Francis Rawdon Hastings was born December 9, 1794. He was educated at Harrow, and he matriculated at Cambridge, but took no degree. In the autumn of 1773, appointed to a lieutenancy in the 5th Foot, he embarked for America. In 1775 he behaved with great gallantry at Bunker's Hill, where he had two bullets through his cap, and the same year he was appointed to a captaincy in the 63rd Foot. Further good service brought him, 1778, the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and the Adjutant-Generalship of the forces in America; and in the subsequent campaigning he saw a great deal of hard work. His health gave way in 1778, and he sailed for home, but the vessel in which he was a passenger was captured by a French cruiser, and he had a short experience of life as a prisoner of war. Rawdon was a stern martinet, even to over-severity, and he went

so far as to set a price on the head of every American rebel, but he displayed remarkable military ability, and Lord Cornwallis described one of his victories, at Hobkirk's Hill, where with eight or nine hundred men he defeated a largely superior force of the enemy, as "by far the most splendid of this war." In 1780-1 he was returned to the Irish House of Commons as Member for Randalstown, County Antrim; the following year he received the rank of Colonel, and was appointed aide-de-camp to the King; and in 1783 was created an English Peer, by the style of Baron Rawdon of Rawdon in the county of York. In 1790 he took the surname of Hastings in addition to his own surname of Rawdon, and, June 20, 1793, succeeded his father as the second Earl of Moira in the Peerage of Ireland. By this time the Earl had attained a recognised position as a politician, and in 1797 an abortive attempt was made to form a new ministry of which he was to have been the head. Next year he brought the state of Ireland before the British House of Lords, and declared his conviction that "these discontents had arisen from too mistaken an application of severities," and that "he had seen in Ireland the most absurd, as well as the most disgusting tyranny that any nation ever groaned under." In the Irish House of Lords he voted against the Union, but later, in the British Upper House, he withdrew his opposition to it. In 1802 he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Scotland, and, 1803, raised to the rank of General.

In Scotland Lord Moira attained to great popularity, and when in that year he was put forward as a candidate for the Lord Rectorship of Glasgow University he was beaten by Lord Chief Baron Dundas by only one vote. Lord Moira was admitted a Privy Councillor (1806), and appointed Master of the Ordnance, and Constable of the Tower. He favoured Catholic emancipation. In the summer of 1812 he was invested with the Order of the Garter, and in November was appointed Governor-General of Bengal and Commander-in-Chief of the forces in India. He landed at Calcutta, October 4, 1813.

The most momentous events of this administration, which extended till 1821, were the wars against the Goorkhas, the brave mountaineers of Nepal, and the Pindaris and Mahrattas, both of which were ably carried through and speedily brought to a successful termination. The result was not only that a large addition was made to the territories of the East India Company, but that races that had been hostile to British rule in India were brought into friendly subjection to it. It was laid to the charge of the Governor-General that, in embarking on the third of the Mahratta wars, he had exceeded his orders, and while the Court of Directors recognised the brilliancy of the plan of operations, they denounced the extension of territory, but later they made a grant of £60,000 for the purchase of an estate to be held by trustees for the benefit of Hastings, his wife, and family. On February 13, 1817, he was created Viscount Loudoun, Earl of Rawdon, and Marquis of Hastings in the Peerage of the United Kingdom ; in 1818 he was made G.C.H. and a G.C.B. ; and in 1817, and again in 1819, votes of thanks were passed to him in both Houses of Parliament. His resignation was caused by imputations levelled against his public conduct in connection with the affairs of a banking company, in which he had imprudently avowed an interest, and to which he had extended privileges that were alleged to have been outside the pale of the law. He was justly indignant that his motives should have been misconstrued and himself mistrusted, and accordingly placed his resignation in the hands of the directors and returned home. An inquiry into his administration followed. The Court of the Company's Directors found that "there was no ground for imputing corrupt motives to the late Governor-General," but that he had lent his influence unwarrantably in connection with the transactions referred to.

Hastings took his seat in the House of Lords, as Marquis, in 1825, and engaged in its business, but the year following, in consequence of financial embarrassments, he accepted the Governorship of Malta. The hot

weather of India had affected his constitution, however, and a fall from his horse accentuated his growing weakness, and he died on board H.M.S. *Revenge* in Baia Bay, off Naples, November 28, 1826, in the seventy-second year of his age. In a letter left among his papers he gave directions that upon his death his right hand should be cut off, and preserved until the death of the Marchioness, when it was to be placed in her coffin. And this was done. Hastings is described as a tall, athletic man, with a stately figure and impressive manners. He had great capacity for rule, and was an able soldier and administrator. He was an enthusiastic Freemason.

According to Norman Macleod, who owed his first parish, that of Loudoun, to the Marchioness of Hastings, his ample fortune "absolutely sank under the benevolence of his nature." It was he who enlarged Loudoun Castle in the style that made it worthy to be called the Windsor of Scotland, at a cost of little, if anything at all, less than £100,000; and he had perforce to stop short of his original intentions, which included a great banqueting hall. A pleasant association connected with his name links it with Tannahill's famous song "Loudoun's Bonnie Woods and Braes." Not long after his marriage to the Countess of Loudoun he was ordered on foreign service, and the song is composed in the form of a dialogue between the recently wedded couple. After his death the East India Company voted a sum of £20,000 for the benefit of his son, the second Marquis, then under age. The portraits in existence of the Marquis include paintings by Sir T. Lawrence and Hugh Hamilton, and an engraving of an early portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds. In the Scottish National Portrait Gallery is another portrait in water colour, on ivory, by J. S. Harrie. A statue of him by Chantrey, "erected by the British inhabitants of Calcutta," stands in the entrance porch of the Dalhousie Institute of that city, and he is still held in respect as one of the most successful administrators of our empire of the East.

The following extract from the Journal and Correspondence of Dr. Norman Macleod, who was on terms of the greatest personal intimacy with the happy family circle in the historic castle of Loudoun, gives an impressive account of the exhumation of the Marquis's right hand:—

“ January 9, 1840.

“ This day I received tidings of Lady Hastings' death. I feel my loss. A chain is broken which bound me with others to the parish. She was a deeply affectionate and most captivating woman. I received the following letter from Lady Sophia, written just before her death:—

“ ‘ Kelburne, Thursday night,  
January 9, 1840.

“ ‘ When this letter is given to you my poor mother will be at rest; but for fear that the new flood of affliction should overwhelm me and make me incapable of fulfilling my duty immediately, I will write this now that there may be no delay, as you must receive it as soon as possible. When my father died he desired his right hand should be amputated and carried from Malta to be buried with my mother, as they could not lie in the same grave as he had once promised her. His hand is in the vault at Loudoun Kirk, I am told, in a small box, with the key hanging to it. My mother entrusted you with the key of the vault and begged you would give it to no one. May I request you to go to Loudoun Kirk and take out the box and bring it here to me yourself, and deliver it into my hands yourself should my brother not have arrived? And I believe *there must be no delay*—a few hours, I am told, will end her suffering and begin our desolation.’

“ I received the letter early on Friday morning; in half an hour I was at Loudoun Kirk. It was a calm, peaceful, winter's morning, and by twelve I was at Kelburne.”



*To the Rev. A. Clerk, Aharcale.*

“ January 28, 1840.

“ I am very happy here—though the death of dear Lady Hastings has made a great change in me. I assure you that few events have given me more sincere sorrow than this. I received intelligence at seven upon Friday morning that she was near her end. It was quite unexpected; and you know what a sickening sight it is to be awakened with bad news. I was requested by Lady Sophia instantly to go to Loudoun Kirk and get her father's hand from the vault and bring it to her. In half an hour I was in the dreary place, where, but six months ago, I was standing with Lady H. beside me. When I contrasted the scene of death within, the smouldering coffins and ‘weeping vault,’ with the peaceful morning and singing birds—for a robin was singing sweetly—it was sad and choking. I was glad to be with the dear young ladies the first day of their grief. They were all alone. They have been greatly sanctified by their trials. They remain at Loudoun, I am glad to say. Lord and Lady H. are here at present.”

By his wife the first Marquis of Hastings had issue one son and three daughters. The eldest of the latter was Flora Elizabeth, born February 11, 1806, whose sad and painful story has so often been told. Lady Flora, who spent her early years at Loudoun Castle, was appointed Lady of the Bedchamber to the Duchess of Kent, mother of Queen Victoria, and she held the post until her death, July 5, 1839. In January of that year she consulted Sir James Clark for an indisposition. Soon after a rumour got abroad that the illness was attributable to an alleged private marriage. Two of the Ladies of the Bedchamber thought it right to communicate their suspicions to the Queen. Lord Melbourne was taken into confidence, and consulted Sir James Clark, the result being that he resolved to take no steps

in the matter. Later it was agreed that Sir James Clark should tell Lady Flora the suspicions that were on foot regarding her condition. He did so, and Lady Flora indignantly gave them a flat denial. The Duchess of Kent had the fullest reason for being satisfied with her conduct and actions in every particular. Rumour, however, once started, is not as a rule easy to allay, and Lord Melbourne reluctantly consented that a medical examination of Lady Flora should be made. This, which was conducted by Sir James Clark and Sir Charles Clarke, who had been the family physician since Lady Flora's birth, gave the lie to the slander. But the harm had been done. Lady Flora never recovered from the indignity; the pain of it, and the disgrace, were constantly present to her mind; these aggravated the trouble from which she was suffering, and she died at Buckingham Palace, July 5, 1839.

"It is inconceivable," wrote Charles Greville in his "Memoirs," "how Melbourne can have permitted this disgraceful and mischievous scandal which cannot fail to lower the Court in the eyes of the world." The tragedy—for it was nothing else—created a general feeling of indignation in the country, and denunciations were heaped upon all concerned in the unholy business. The Marchioness of Hastings, who did not long survive it, and the other relatives, endeavoured to obtain some public reparation, but in vain. In a letter addressed to the Queen, her ladyship called Her Majesty's attention to "the atrocious calumnies and unblushing falsehoods against my daughter's reputation which the perpetrators had dared to circulate even in the palace of the Sovereign." Through Lord Melbourne the Queen conveyed to the Marchioness "the expression of her deep concern at the unfortunate circumstances which had recently taken place," and her anxiety to do everything in her power "to soothe the feelings of Lady Flora and her family, which must have been painfully affected by the events which have occurred." The Marchioness pointed out that "no steps had been taken to repair,

so far as reparation was possible, the indignity," and that, notwithstanding the "atrocious indignity," Sir James Clark still remained Her Majesty's physician. But nothing was done.

Lady Flora's brother, the Marquis of Hastings, added his protests to those of his mother. "I should be wanting," he wrote, "in every impulse which ought to actuate and guide, a brother, if I did not take the last means now left in my power of showing that it is not from the enormous difficulties which have been thrown in the way of finding out the slanderers of my poor sister that her family have been prevented from bringing them to justice and holding them up to the contempt and indignation of the world, but from the manner in which they have been screened by the Court." Lady Flora died, as has been said, July 5, 1839; the Marchioness, January 9, 1840. In 1841 Messrs. Blackwood published a volume of poems by Lady Flora Hastings, edited by her sister, Lady Sophia, afterwards the Marchioness of Bute. These prove that she was a woman of high poetical gifts. There is a religious and spiritual tone about them that speaks volumes for the manner of her education and the high and serious views of life that she entertained. The poems realised upwards of £700, which was used in the founding of a school in Loudoun parish, which still bears the name of the gifted and unfortunate lady. Her remains were laid in the family vault, amid a sorrow that was national in its extent, and as natural as it was honourable in its depth and sincerity.

When the first Marquis of Hastings died in 1826, he was succeeded by his son, George Augustus Francis, the second Marquis, who succeeded his mother as seventh Earl of Loudoun. Born in 1808, he married, August 1, 1831, Barbara, in her own right Baroness Grey de Ruthvyn, by whom he had a family of three sons and four daughters. His eldest son, Paulyn Reginald Serlo, born 1832, died 1851. The third Marquis of Hastings and eighth Earl of Loudoun, was succeeded by his only

brother, Henry Weysford Charles Plantagenet, fourth and last Marquis, and ninth Earl. His lordship married, July 10, 1864, Florence Cecilia, youngest daughter of Henry, second Marquis of Anglesey, and died November 10, 1868, without issue, when the Marquisate of Hastings and other titles created by patent, except the Scotch honours, became extinct. The last Marquis figured prominently in the turf annals of his time. He lacked disastrously the steadying power of self-control, and his racing ventures and misfortunes have formed the subject of many a moral homily. His betting transactions, many of them of the wildest and most rash description, involved him in heavy financial losses ; his whole career, in short, was sad in the extreme. In the Loudoun honours he was succeeded by his eldest sister, Lady Edith Maud Abney Hastings, Countess of Loudoun, who was born December 10, 1833, and married, April 30, 1853, Charles Frederick Clifton, afterwards Lord Donington, third son of Thomas Clifton, of Lytham and Clifton, County Lancaster. By Act of Parliament in 1859, they assumed the surname and arms of Abney Hastings only, in compliance with the conditions of a settlement of the Willesley Hall estate on Lady Edith, effected by Sir Charles Abney Hastings, Bart., in 1844. By this marriage the Countess of Loudoun had four sons and two daughters. Her ladyship died, January 22, 1874 ; Lord Donington, July 24, 1895.

The eldest son, Charles Edward Hastings Abney Hastings, Baron of Loudoun, Baron Farrinyean and Mauchline, in Scotland ; Baron of Botreaux, Hungerford, De Molyneux, and Hastings in England, and Baron Donington of Donington, County Leicester, in the United Kingdom, Deputy-Lieutenant of Ayrshire, late Lieutenant Leicestershire Yeomanry Cavalry, was born January 5, 1855 ; succeeded his mother as eleventh Earl, January 23, 1874 ; married February 4, 1880, the Hon. Alice Mary Elizabeth Fitzalan Howard, third daughter of Edward, first Lord Howard of Glossop. The second son, and heir presumptive, Paulyn Francis Cuthbert

Rawdon-Hastings, born October 21, 1856, married December 20, 1881, Lady Maud Grimston, daughter of the second Earl of Verulam, and has issue, sons and daughters.

There are, as the Loudoun story has shown, many interesting points of contact between the history of Scotland and this ancient family. It has incorporated in its progress along the centuries various other families of note and of eminence. It played its part well through stormy epochs in the national evolution from the days of Sir William Wallace down to within comparatively recent times. The heads of the house were staunch supporters of the Reformation movement, and they stood boldly by the cause of the people and of liberty through long and trying years. The castle, its environment, its treasures within, its vault without, are all reminiscent. One of its square towers is believed to date from the twelfth or thirteenth century, a period when the Scottish barons had perforce, in the erection of their dwellings, to remember first and chiefly their suitability for defensive purposes. There were few amenities in life then. The Scots had no piping times of peace, wherein to rest under their vines and fig-trees. When they were not united against the common foe who came up from the south, to waste, to harry, to conquer, to be driven back, they found time and plenty of occasion to fight with one another, and it was necessary that they should have their strongholds for defence in the day of battle and of war. Another tower is of the fifteenth century order. To that period must be assigned many of those square keeps or peels that are such familiar objects on the Ayrshire landscape. By that time Scotland was sorely impoverished. The nobility and gentry had exhausted their available resources in the continued struggle with England, and they had no money to spend on anything more commodious, or less of the fortress character, than these towers. In the first quarter of the seventeenth century, by which time the central authority had asserted itself successfully against the Barons and had reduced

them to subjection, so that the feuds had to find other channels than those of the encounter, the surprise, and the raid, Chancellor Loudoun spent a sum estimated at £100,000 in making the castle a worthier residence; an enormous sum of money for the period; and, as we have seen, the great Marquis of Hastings added munificently to the pile.

The memorials of other days within the castle are many and valuable. Not the least notable of these is the sword of Sir William Wallace, which has been in the possession of the Loudoun family for centuries. Wallace's mother was a daughter of Loudoun; and what more natural than that the sword should have found its way into the safe keeping of those who had an immediate interest in everything identified with the national hero? In the Monument at Stirling is another sword wielded by Wallace, and no doubt authentic, but the genuineness of the one cannot be said in any way to detract from that of the other. When George IV. came to Scotland, the Loudoun weapon was sent through to Edinburgh for his inspection, and on its return it mysteriously disappeared. Thirty years after it was discovered safely stowed away in the muniment room, and it bore a time-stained ticket that verified its identity. There is a portrait of Gideon Ernest Loudoun, the famous Austrian generalissimo, born, 1716, in Livonia, whither his ancestor had emigrated from Ayrshire in the fourteenth century; one of Maria Theresa's most successful Generals, and, not without good reason, a special object of aversion to Frederick the Great, who used to speak of him as "that red-headed Scotsman." In the Seven Years' War, he won the title of Baron at Hochkirche (1758); at Kunersdorf (1759) he turned defeat into victory. He commanded in the war of the Bavarian succession (1778) and against the Turks (1788-89), capturing Belgrade and Semendria. The portrait was sent to the old home by the Baron himself.

A painting of Charles I. has a little story to tell. There was a time when Roundhead soldiers entered



the halls of Loudoun, men who had no love for the martyr of Whitehall; and when they beheld, looking down upon them from the wall, the benign countenance of the King whom they had sent to the death, they slashed it and disfigured it with their swords. Charles had given them a lot of trouble, and they had to show their feelings by having them out upon the canvas. But, as the painting was not destroyed beyond repair, may it not have been that one too enthusiastic Round-head did all the harm himself, and was prevented by his fellows from finishing his vandal retribution?

Side by side hang the Earl who was out in the day of Sheriffmuir, and his wife, the old land-improving lady of Sorn who so long survived him, whose unimpaired faculties at an advanced age were "a cheering sight" to Dr. Johnson. There look down from the dining-room wall, from an admirable example of Sir Joshua Reynolds, the fourth Earl, who in his day served King and country in the American War of Independence; the first Earl, who but hardly escaped the scaffold for his Covenanting principles, and whom a wise policy of conciliation raised to the Scottish Chancellorship; and Flora Mure Campbell, the first Marchioness of Hastings, and the mother of the unfortunate Lady Flora. How clearly her pride of birth and of association is revealed in the communication that she addressed from Loudoun Castle to the Queen when her daughter was the victim of intrigue! "My husband served his country honourably and with devoted zeal, and was particularly known to your royal race; and my own family, during a long line, have been distinguished as faithful servants of their Kings. My grandfather lost his life in the service of the Sovereign."

Over the fireplace in the drawing-room is a representation on silk of a regal progress made by the Governor-General of India, executed with great care and fidelity by one of his officers. The procession depicted was ten miles in length, it was attended by all the accessories to magnificence that Orientalism could have given to

it, and it can well be believed that its reproduction on the silk scroll must have taxed the artistic skill of the artist. It was in the library at Loudoun Castle that the parish minister of Loudoun, Norman Macleod, officiated at the marriage of the daughter of the house who became the Marchioness of Bute ; and an interesting incident is associated with this event. The castle had a somewhat curious relic, in the shape of the hat of John Adam, one of the mutineers of the "Bounty." Nobody in the house could tell where it was ; but the minister, pointing to an under-shelf with a door, remarked "That's where John Adam's hat was," and on search being made the hat, with a few cock's feathers in it, was found.

Need it be said that a pathetic interest attaches to the scrap book of Lady Flora Hastings ? That the intrigue of which she was the victim hastened her end, may well be believed ; yet how little was the malice she bore !

"Peace to each heart that troubled  
My course of happy years,  
Peace to each angry spirit  
That quenched my life in tears.  
Let not the thought of vengeance  
Be mingled with regret ;  
Forgive my wrongs, dear mother,  
Seek even to forget."

Where Lady Flora found the spirit thus to forgive, let the last verse of her "Request" say :—

"Then oh ! I fain would leave thee,  
For now my hours are few,  
The hidden mine of treasure  
Whence all my strength I drew.  
Take, then, this gift, my mother,  
And, till thy path is trod,  
Thy child's last token cherish—  
It is the Book of God."

Lady Flora had an intense affection for home, and friends, and country. This feeling is expressed in a

“ fragment ” in the published volume of her verse, entitled “ Farewell, my Home ! ” and beginning :—

“ Farewell, my home ! Oh, in that one brief word  
What myriad thoughts are clustered ! What deep love,  
What holy feelings, what hopes, not of earth,  
Are wakened by that word—My home, my home ! ”

The loved word recalls her mother, “ the gentlest, best,” whose meek head “ has bent beneath the chastening of thy Lord ; ” and her “ sweet sisters, with their calm, bright eyes,” “ their pure feelings, and their humble hearts.” And then she turns to Loudoun Hill :—

“ And thou, dark hill and hoar,  
That broodest like a genius o’er the strath,  
Passionless witness of the lapse of ages—  
And monument, by Nature’s hand uprear’d,  
Of the stern struggles of an earnest time.

“ Even so thou stood’st when, winding round thy base,  
Through the wild forest’s overarching gloom,  
The Roman led his legions. Thus thy brow  
Raised from the misty clouds its awful form  
When Bruce and Scotland stemmed the warlike pride  
Of the first Edward’s southern chivalry.

“ And there was yet an hour more deeply fraught  
With fervid feelings. On thy storm-rived crest  
Stood they who turned the sickle to a sword,  
And grasp’d, with hands to pastoral toils innured,  
Th’ unwonted weapon, in the holiest cause  
For which man hath stood forth a combatant—  
The cause of conscience and of liberty.  
Smile not, O son of these pacific times,  
When free to worship even as ye list,  
Ye think upon the motley mustering  
Of those who, for the holy Covenant,  
The Church, by Scotland sanctioned and approved,  
Even from this rock descending, with one voice  
Raised to the Lord of Armies one loud Psalm,  
And on the purple heather of Drunclog  
Poured forth their blood to seal their faith thereby.”

Thus the halls of Loudoun and the whole environment are rich in personal and historical reminiscence, and the

sequence travels from the days of De Morville, and Loudoun, and the first of the Ayrshire Campbells, down to the present hour. Many a change has come over Ayrshire—many a change has come over Scotland—since the first of the Loudouns encamped by the bonnie woods and braes that were to bear his name along the centuries, but the family of which he was the founder still remains in the shire with which it has been so long associated, and with which so many of its deepest interests and tenderest memories are entwined. Yet it is only one of many families whose record is part of the storied wealth of the county; a parent family, too, that has given off shoots not a few, that have produced in their turn men of note in their day and generation, and worthy to be held in remembrance.

## CHAPTER VII

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### THE DALRYMPLES OF STAIR

The Dalrymples of Stair have had a long connection with Ayrshire. As early as the fourteenth century they had a baronial estate in the parish of Dalrymple, from which the family appears to have derived its name. In the fifteenth century one of the Dalrymples of Laucht, then the chief branch of the family, acquired the lands of Stair-Montgomery, on the river Ayr, by marriage with Agnes Kennedy, the heiress of the lands, the relationship being so near that sanction had to be obtained from the Pope for the marriage by means of a special dispensation. Their son, William Dalrymple, married Marion, daughter of Sir John Chalmers of Gadgirth, famous in his day as one of the most conspicuous of the Lollards of Kyle. In 1494 a number of the leading Lollards, including the wife of Dalrymple of Stair, were summoned by Blackader, Archbishop of Glasgow, to appear before the Council of James IV. on a charge of heresy. The King showed considerable wisdom in dealing with them. He encouraged them to speak out freely and even to controversy with the offended Archbishop, and when their replies put the latter out of countenance, he enjoyed it heartily. The trial, such as it was, ended in the defeat of the ecclesiastic.

The Reformed doctrines took a powerful hold on the Dalrymples, and when events moved on towards the Reformation, the grandson of the earlier "heretics" espoused the cause of the reformers and joined the Earls of Glencairn and Lennox when they appeared in arms in 1544 at Glasgow Muir against the Governor of Scotland, the Earl of Arran. His son James was also a staunch adherent of the Protestant cause in the events that culminated in the Reformation of 1560. By his wife, Isabel, a daughter of Thomas Kennedy of Bargany, he had two sons, John Dalrymple of Stair, and James Dalrymple of Drummurchie. The former had an only son, James, who in 1620 made over the lands of Stair to his uncle, Dalrymple of Drummurchie, whose wife, Janet, was a daughter of Kennedy of Knockdow; and the only child of this marriage, James Dalrymple, the first of three heads of the house of Stair, each distinguished in his day and generation, was born at Drummurchie, in the Carrick parish of Barr, in May, 1619.

From early years James Dalrymple manifested the possession of conspicuous gifts both of intellect and of wisdom. His father died when he was four years old, and he was brought up under the care of his mother, "a woman of an excellent spirit." He acquired the rudiments of his education at Mauchline parish school, entered Glasgow University when he was fourteen years old, and at the age of eighteen he was first on the list of graduates on the University rolls. He at once identified himself with the Reformation cause, and accepted a Captain's commission in the regiment of the Earl of Glencairn, later a pronounced Royalist, organised to defend the rights of the people against the ecclesiastical and other invasions of Charles I. When he had served about two years in the regiment there came to be a vacancy in the office of Regent, or Professor, of Logic in Glasgow University, and, at the instigation of several of the Professors, he offered himself as a candidate, appearing before the examining body in his military uniform.



His gifts secured him the appointment, and he remained for some years at Glasgow lecturing and studying, and gaining golden opinions for his conciliatory manners and gentlemanly address, not less than for his capacity as an instructor. While thus engaged he married Margaret, eldest daughter of James Ross of Balneil in Wigtownshire, who brought him an estate of £500 value per annum ; a woman of great personal gifts, and so successful in everything she undertook that the country folks of the day were inclined to ascribe her power to association with the Evil One. While teaching Logic, Dalrymple studied Law, gave up his Professorship in 1647, went to reside in Edinburgh, and was admitted an advocate in 1648. In this position he soon attained to considerable eminence. The Scottish Bar of the period was not specially rich in talent, and a man of Dalrymple's gifts found it no very difficult matter to establish his position. He was at the time in his thirtieth year.

When the Committee of Estates resolved upon sending Commissioners to Holland to treat with Charles II. as to the terms on which he might be asked to come to Scotland to be crowned King, Dalrymple was appointed Secretary to the Commission ; and it was largely owing to his tact and powers of conciliation that Charles was persuaded, though probably without any serious intention in his own mind of abiding by the terms of the bargain, to concede the demands of the Estates. Later, when Charles came to Scotland, Dalrymple was one of those who were deputed to meet him. As it turned out, his advent was premature, and the Royalist cause was, for the time being, crushed by the Parliamentary forces, at the battles of Dunbar and Worcester. In these stirring events Dalrymple took no part. Under the Commonwealth he pursued his profession quietly until 1654, when, with other leading members of the Bar, he withdrew from Court rather than take the oath called the "Tender" imposed upon all persons in public situations, pledging them to be faithful to the Commonwealth, without King or House of Lords. A reformer,

he was also a staunch Royalist, and he would not give up his allegiance. The obnoxious oath, however, was not long insisted on, and when in 1657 there was a vacancy in a Judgeship, General Monck recommended Dalrymple to Cromwell "as a person fit to be a Judge, being a very honest man, a good lawyer, and one of a considerable estate," and he was appointed one of the Commissioners for the administration of Justice at a salary of £300. He took his seat, July, 1657, no other oath being administered to him than that of fidelity in the administration of the duties of his office.

That Lord Stair's sympathies were strongly Presbyterian is not open to question. It was, however, his business as a Judge in the High Court of Scotland, to dispense justice and not to mix himself up with the political or religious strivings of the people. So long as the superior power, then gradually tightening its hold on the country and endeavouring to mould all rule and all authority to suit itself, left him alone, he was content to go his own way and to discharge his duty by the State in the important position to which it had called him; and, sitting in the Outer House, he rose to the foremost position in public regard, for his soundness as a lawyer, his unswerving impartiality, and the expeditious manner in which he dealt with his cases. That he was watching closely the trend of events outside is undoubted; a man of Lord Stair's intellectuality and knowledge of the world and familiarity with the Scottish people, could have done nothing else. Neither did he hesitate to express his views when occasion called. The strongly Episcopal policy of the King and his advisers, he recognised, could never produce the cut and dry results that were expected of it. "It is not to be imagined," he told Lord Lauderdale, "that a new frame can be put on people in Church matters so suddenly and satisfyingly as many would have it." But, as has been said, he was a Judge, and for a number of years, enjoying personal toleration, holding his principles unobtrusively, and doing his duty, he held on the even

tenor of his way, and so distinguished himself as to point him out to the Earl of Argyll and other eminent persons, as the man best fitted for the position of Lord President as soon as a vacancy in that office should arise.

It was in 1669 that an event occurred in the Dalrymple family that has been the groundwork of a tradition, long accepted as fact, that cast a dark stain on the family record. The story is tragic enough, melancholy enough also, of itself, without adding to it the legendary horror told by Sir Walter Scott in his introduction to "The Bride of Lammermoor." Dame Margaret Dalrymple (the Scottish title in these days for the wife of a baronet) had presented her husband with a goodly array of sons and daughters. The oldest daughter, Janet Dalrymple, had fallen in love with a poor nobleman, Lord Rutherford, and they had plighted their troth to one another in the usual solemn fashion of the period. It is said by Scott that they invoked dire curses upon themselves as the consequent of breach of the betrothal vow. However that may be, it is a fact that they became engaged. When Dame Margaret heard of it she was grievously displeased, for she had made up her mind that Janet should marry another suitor, David Dunbar, son and heir to Sir David Dunbar, of Baldoon, in Galloway, a more eligible lover from the worldly point of view. A woman of strong will, and resolute in effecting her purpose, she insisted on the engagement being broken off. Janet was more pliable than her mother, but she loved Rutherford and remembered that they had plighted their troth to one another, and she was loth to give him up. Her mother summoned the Mosaic law to her aid. According to the Levitical precept dealing with vows made by a woman, "being in her father's house in her youth" (Numbers xxx. 5), "if her father disallow her in the day that he heareth, not any of her vows, or of her bonds wherewith she hath bound her soul, shall stand." So it was under the old dispensation.

Thus Dame Margaret sought to justify the compulsory breaking of the engagement. She succeeded in her purpose, the engagement was cancelled, and Janet was forced to transfer her promise, even if she could not transfer her love, to Dunbar. In the family house in Galloway, Carsecreugh, preparations were hurried on for the wedding. Janet accepted the inevitable as an obedient child, and the wedding day, the 12th of August, came round. A goodly party rode to the Kirk of Glenluce, the bride mounted on her horse behind one of her younger brothers. The lad told afterwards that the hand with which she clasped his waist was cold as ice. The ceremony was performed, and the bridal party returned to Carsecreugh. The story is told by Scott that shortly after the newly-wedded pair had retired for the night, the house resounded with hideous shrieks, and on the guests hurrying to the bedroom and opening the door, "they found the bridegroom lying across the threshold, dreadfully wounded and streaming with blood. The bride was then sought for ; she was found in the corner of the large chimney, having no covering save her shift, and that dabbled in gore. There she sat grinning at them, mopping and mowing, as I heard the expression used : in a word, absolutely insane. The only words she spoke were ' Tak' up your bonny bridegroom ! ' She survived this horrible scene," Scott adds, " little more than a fortnight." The truth is sufficiently tragic without these gruesome adjuncts. Janet's heart was broken. For twelve days the newly wedded pair remained in Carsecreugh, and then, accompanied by a gay cavalcade, set out for Baldoon, near the town of Wigtown. On their arrival there the company were entertained to a masque, or dramatic entertainment. On September 12 Mrs. Dunbar died. Dunbar afterwards married a daughter of the seventh Earl of Eglinton, and died in 1682 by a fall from his horse. Lord Rutherford obtained a commission in the Household Guards, and died in 1685. The whole business was a tragedy of the most sorrow-begetting character.

After ten years' service in the Outer House, Stair was made President of the Court. "A gentleman of excellent parts," he is described by Sir George MacKenzie, "the bloody MacKenzie," "of an equal wit and universal learning," who "received calmly all men's informations," and who never spoke "unkindly of those who had injured him." Appointed a member of the Scottish Privy Council, it was not long until he found that he had not his troubles to seek. His own sympathies were with the Presbyterians, those of the Council generally were against them, and he had to steer a somewhat tortuous course. The mind of the time was, among men in authority, pliable; they were in a strait betwixt two, and they had to make the best of circumstances. Stair took that course. When he could mitigate the prevailing rigours, he did so; when he could not, he accepted the situation, and the result was that he was suspected by his colleagues and distrusted by the Presbyterians. To Edinburgh he rendered so many great and signal services that the Town Council in 1676, not only ordered his house rent to be paid by the town during his life, but likewise that of all his successors in office.

When the Duke of York, afterwards James VII., came to Edinburgh in 1679, the President declined to go out with the procession that met him on his approach to the city, but he presented himself at Holyrood the following day and congratulated His Royal Highness, a pronounced Roman Catholic, in a tactful sentence: "It is a matter of great joy to this nation to see one of the Royal family among them, after being deprived so many years of that honour; and the nation being entirely Protestant, it is the fittest place in which your Royal Highness could have your recess at this time." There was a warning in the words that was by no means, as events proved, unrequired, but it fell upon ears deaf to any other consideration than that of bringing Scotland into line with the divine right claimed by the Stuarts to exact obedience in all matters of government, ecclesiastical as well as civil. It was not long until the "test,"

or oath, was propounded, ostensibly for the security of the Protestant religion, in reality to strengthen and consolidate the supreme power. Stair was not only President of the High Court, he was Member of Parliament for Wigtownshire as well, and a member of the Committee of Articles. The Test Oath (1681) obliged those who took it to "affirm and swear by this my solemn oath that the King's Majesty is the only supreme governor of this realm, over all persons, and in all causes, ecclesiastical as civil." By Stair's influence a clause was inserted enacting that every person in public trust was bound to declare that he owned and sincerely professed the true Protestant religion contained in the Confession of Faith of 1567. "Stair has ruined all honest men," the Duke of York observed, "by bringing in the Confession of Faith." Qualified as the oath was, however, Stair refused to take it, a new Commission of Judges was appointed from which he was omitted, and he and his lady, with their youngest son, afterwards Sir David Dalrymple of Hailes, retired to the country, where they lived in strict seclusion. Foreseeing danger, he crossed the sea to Holland in 1682, and took up his residence in Leyden. His wife was cited before the Privy Council in 1683 for absenting herself from church and attending conventicles, and promised obedience to the law for the future.

In Leyden, where Sir James Dalrymple found ample leisure for literary pursuits, he had no lack of congenial society. There were many Scottish refugees in Holland, Presbyterians like himself and sufferers in the Reformed cause, and many must have been the consultations they held one with another with a view to the hurrying forward of the Revolution that alone could rescue Great Britain from the thralldom under which the kingdom was seething from end to end. The Earl of Argyll was there, and the Earl of Loudoun, and other conspicuous Scots. Sir James was accompanied by his youngest son, and by his grandson (afterwards the second Earl of Stair), but there is no mention made of the presence of Dame



Margaret, his wife. It is regarded as probable, however, that she did join him, and that she had the opportunities, denied to her at home, of worshipping in sympathetic company. Dalrymple maintained family worship regularly. The authorities at home had not forgotten him. In his absence a charge was formulated against him of harbouring rebels on his estate, and it was, by a regular process of adjournment, kept hanging over his head, until his eldest son, Sir John Dalrymple, more pliant than he in face of the existing order, was appointed in 1687 King's Advocate in room of Sir George MacKenzie, and used his influence to obtain for his father and relatives remission or pardon.

Sir James received the news in Holland, but prudently remained where he was. He felt he had been unjustly treated, he knew the feeling that obtained against him in the highest quarters at home, and he was aware of the efforts that had been made by King James to have the political refugees expelled from the United Provinces. He had become acquainted with William, Prince of Orange, and it is recorded that, when the Prince was about to sail for England, he asked him what was the true purpose of his expedition. William answered that it was for the glory of God and the securing and establishing of the Protestant religion. On hearing this the old man pulled off his wig. "Though I be now in the seventieth year of my age," he said, "I am willing to venture this (pointing to his head), my own and my children's fortunes, in such an undertaking." He sailed with the expedition, landed with William at Torbay, and the Prince of Orange, on being told that horses were not come up for him, ordered a Neapolitan horse belonging to himself to be assigned for his use.

After the Revolution, King William made Dalrymple his chief adviser in Scottish affairs, and reappointed him Lord President of the High Court. When the Court met, his restoration to office was homologated unanimously by the other Judges. He had still to endure, none the less, the slings and taunts of the

Jacobites, but he defended himself convincingly. He sat in Parliament for the county of Ayr until he was raised to the Peerage as Viscount Stair, in 1690. The Viscountess died in 1692, and on November 23, 1695, Lord Stair himself died in Edinburgh, and was buried in the church of St. Giles.

Lord Stair's fame as a lawyer is assured by his great work, "The Institutions of the Law of Scotland." He published much else, but this alone remains standard to this day, and is of high authority in questions involving the principles of obligations and contracts, and also in questions of feudal tenure and real right. The work has been described as more systematic, and as dealing more with the principle, than perhaps any other book on municipal law. With the lapse of time the Viscount stands out as a man of strong convictions and high character, yet tinctured, nevertheless, by the compliance of the times in which he lived. His position was a difficult one, and he could hardly have done otherwise than balance considerations and act more or less in his own interest. He was able to suffer when the time came for decision, and this must be remembered to his credit. No shadow was ever cast upon his judicial uprightness, and no man ever could question the sincerity of his faith or of his adherence to the Reformed cause.

Viscount Stair was survived by five sons and three daughters. The sons were—1. John, second Viscount and first Earl of Stair; 2. The Hon. Sir James Dalrymple of Borthwick, Bart., a Principal Clerk of Session, from whom descended Sir John Dalrymple, a Baron of Exchequer in Scotland, and also the present Earl of Stair; 3. The Hon. Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick, Bart., President (1698) of the Court of Session; 4. The Hon. Thomas Dalrymple, Physician in Ordinary to the King in Scotland; 5. The Hon. Sir David Dalrymple of Hailes, Bart., Lord Advocate from 1709 to 1720, and M.P. for the Haddington Burghs, from whom descended in the second degree Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, a Judge in the Court of Session, and author of "Annals

of Scotland." The eldest daughter, Elizabeth, became the wife of the seventh Earl of Cathcart ; the second, Sarah, of Lord Crichton, who predeceased his father, the Earl of Dumfries ; and the third, Margaret, of Sir David Cuninghame of Milncraig, Bart.

John Dalrymple, afterwards the first Earl of Stair, was born in 1648. Comparatively little is known of his earlier years. He had all the advantages that education and travel could give him, and was brought up with a view to pursuing the profession of the law. During the period of the first Dutch war he lent material aid in saving a British man-of-war from being blown up by the Dutch in the Medway, and, in recognition of his gallantry, was knighted by Charles II. In 1669 he married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir John Dundas of Newliston, in West Lothian, a young lady who had been the heroine in a *cause celebre* at the instance of William Dundas, brother to Dundas of Morton, who had forcibly abducted her, but from whom she was speedily recovered. She lived to be an excellent wife, of strict religious views, capable alike in home matters and in country affairs. When Sir John was called to the Bar, his father was President of the Court, and he had every opportunity of displaying the gifts with which he had been liberally endowed. With Sir George Lockhart he defended the Earl of Argyll when that nobleman was charged in 1681 with treason. His pleadings were marked by great logical ability and power of argument. Argyll, nevertheless, was convicted and sentenced to death, but escaped from prison.

In April of 1682 a most unhappy incident occurred at Carsecreugh, in Sir John's family. His second son, afterwards the second Earl of Stair, and the hero of Dettingen, who was playing with his brother in the hall of the house, took up one of a brace of pistols that were loaded, and unwittingly shot his elder brother dead. The event caused such grief to his parents that they sent him for a period from home, and he was boarded in the old house of the Dalrymples on the water of Ayr.

At this particular period an evil Fate appeared to dog the footsteps of the Dalrymples. People recalled the earlier misfortune of the forced wedding ; how the eldest son and heir of Sir John had been shot by his own brother ; and Sir James Dalrymple, the first Viscount, was a fugitive in Holland. Sir John himself fell under suspicion for his leniency in dealing with the Covenanters in Wigtown. These had, after their manner, been holding conventicles, and when, in common with other landed proprietors and heritors, Sir John had been required to enforce obedience to the law, he had not only dealt very leniently with his own and his father's tenants, but had actually laughed insolently at Claverhouse's proclamation of a Court. This was more than Claverhouse could endure. Dalrymple averred that the people had become orderly and regular. "There are as many elephants and crocodiles in Galloway," retorted Claverhouse, "as legal or regular persons." This was equivalent to saying that there were neither legal nor regular Gallovidians. Proceeded against by Claverhouse, Dalrymple was sent to the Privy Council, was fined in £500 sterling, and was committed to ward in the Castle of Edinburgh, from which he was liberated in February, 1683, upon making acknowledgment of his rashness and craving pardon. But his troubles were not yet at an end. For further complicity in the reformed cause he was arrested in 1684, was marched to the Edinburgh tolbooth like a common malefactor, and confined for three months. Ultimately he was liberated on a bail bond for £5000 granted by the Earl of Lauderdale, and by his own brother-in-law, Lord Crichton, and on condition that he would not go furth of the city bounds. Later he was allowed a ten mile radius of the metropolis, and in 1686 his full liberty was restored.

These experiences seem to have satisfied Sir John Dalrymple that a too rigid and a too pronounced adherence to the Reformed cause was a mistake, and he set about adapting himself to the somewhat kaleidoscopic

changes of the times. The same year that witnessed his liberation from prison witnessed also his departure for London to promote his interest in the metropolis, and in February of the following year, 1687, he was back in Edinburgh and Lord Advocate for Scotland. Sir George M'Kenzie could not swallow the King's claim to dispense with the test oath and the penal laws that were regarded as the safeguard of Protestant orthodoxy. Dalrymple did it. The laws against nonconformity were suspended, and while free exercise was allowed to all persons to worship as they should see fit and to preserve their rites and ceremonies, the conventicles were strictly forbidden. Dalrymple prosecuted "hill men" and attenders upon the conventicles, and Sir George M'Kenzie defended them; but it is only just to say of Dalrymple that he discharged his duties on the whole with conspicuous moderation. This did not suit the powers that were, and M'Kenzie was appointed again Lord Advocate, Dalrymple being raised to the bench as Lord Justice Clerk. In 1688 he purchased Castle Kennedy from John Lord Bargany, but he does not seem to have passed much time at the castle.

On the landing of William of Orange at Torbay, Dalrymple, without any apparent scruple, at once espoused his cause. In the sea of troubles that ensued he was in his element, and he steered his bark across the troubled waters with great skill. He played a prominent part in the adoption and carrying out of the Revolution Settlement; and in promoting the election to Parliament of representatives of the new order. He sat in the Convention of Estates as the representative of Stranraer, and took a leading part in framing the celebrated resolution that cited the various unconstitutional acts of King James by which it was declared he had forfeited his claim on the Scottish Crown. From the very opening of the reign of William, Dalrymple urged the union of the two Parliaments, but the time was not ripe. The opposition of Scotland was pronounced, and the scheme was dropped, to be

resuscitated under more promising auspices in the succeeding reign. In company with the Earl of Argyll and Sir James Montgomerie of Skelmorlie, Dalrymple proceeded to London to offer the Crown of Scotland to the new King. The Commissioners were received with great state, and the ceremony was a pageant. In the Council Chamber at Whitehall, surrounded by a splendid circle of nobles and statesmen, William and Mary sat under a canopy and accepted the Crown of Scotland. As one of the results of the change, Dalrymple again became Lord Advocate. Montgomerie had expected to be appointed Secretary for Scotland, and was much chagrined when the office was given to Lord Melville, a steady-going Presbyterian; so much, indeed, that he refused to accept the office of Lord Justice Clerk, and preferred to become the leader of a group of Whig malcontents, known as The Club, which came to be a sore thorn in the side of the Government. Dalrymple's appointment did not commend itself to the more rigid Covenanters and Cameronians; they could not forget that he had accepted office under King James and had lent himself to the work of a Roman Catholic sovereign. The combination of Covenanters and Jacobites led by Montgomerie proved too strong for the Government, so far as legislation was concerned; they were defeated on no fewer than five motions that were contrary to their general policy; and the Ministerial ability to carry its own way was so compromised as to extort from the Lord Advocate the admission that "each day we are kept together it will be at the expense to the King of a new prerogative." The King stood firm by the Government, the attempts that were made to oust the Dalrymples from office were abortive, and finally Montgomerie and his friends so compromised themselves by Jacobite intrigues that their influence was for ever broken.

In 1692 the event occurred that has cast an indelible stain upon the character of Dalrymple—the Massacre of Glencoe. By 1691, through his father's accession to the peerage, he had attained to the dignity of, and was



known as, the Master of Stair. The Highlands were still in a distracted state. Many of the chiefs were openly Jacobite, and their clansmen were ready at their call. The unrest had a reactionary effect upon the Lowlands, and even in England it kept alive the hopes of the friends of a broken cause. The Master of Stair was astute enough to see that there could be no assurance of security for the new order so long as there was incipient rebellion in any part of the country, and, as Secretary for Scotland, to which position he had been advanced, he resolved, while offering indemnity to the chiefs who should declare their allegiance by the close of the year, to adopt strong measures against any who should prove themselves recalcitrant. The chiefs came in slowly, but steadily, and before the close of the year all the clans had taken the oath except the Macdonalds of Glencoe. The determining day found M'Ian of Glencoe still standing out. It cannot be said, however, in extenuation of what followed, that it was the old man's fault. In the dead of winter, in tempestuous weather, accompanied by a few of his clansmen, he had gone to Fort William and offered to take the oath to Colonel Hill, commanding there. The Colonel was not empowered, however, to accept M'Ian's allegiance, and he had perforce to travel to Inveraray, the seat of the Sheriff's jurisdiction, where he arrived on the third or fourth day of January, 1692. The Sheriff of Argyll, Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinglass, gave him the oath, and despatched a certificate of his having done so to the Privy Council in Edinburgh. But it was too late. Stair had made up his mind that stern vengeance should be done upon the Macdonalds of Glencoe, and M'Ian's name was accordingly deleted, and his oath of allegiance cancelled. The instructions signed by the King were sufficiently drastic to answer the purpose of the Secretary. The rebels who had not responded to the offer of indemnity were to be proceeded against "by fire and sword and all manner of hostility"; the troops were "to burn their houses, seize or destroy their goods or

cattle, plenishing or clothes, and to cut off the men." The only possible terms to be offered to them were that they were to be prisoners of war, their lives only to be saved; "but for all other things, they must render on mercy and take the oath of allegiance."

The Master of Stair was in full sympathy with this too drastic dealing. "Just now," he wrote to Sir Thomas Livingstone, in command of the troops, "my Lord Argyll tells me that Glencoe hath not taken the oaths, at which I rejoice; it's a work of charity to be exact in rooting out that damnable sept, the worst in all the Highlands." In a series of Additional Instructions the same sentiments were expressed—"If M'Ian of Glencoe and that tribe can be well separated from the rest it will be a proper vindication of the public justice to extirpate that sept of thieves." And in forwarding these Instructions the Master of Stair wrote to Sir Thomas Livingstone, "For a just example of vengeance I entreat that the thieving tribe in Glencoe may be rooted out in earnest." What followed is a matter of general history. The work of extirpation was entrusted to Campbell of Glenlyon, a hereditary enemy of Macdonald of Glencoe. With his men he repaired to the glen, and professing nothing but friendship, the party were received and hospitably entertained by the Macdonalds. Glenlyon called on the chief every morning and took his morning draught of usquebagh with him. On the evening of the 12th of February he played at cards with the chief's family. The outlets to the glen, deep in snow, were guarded, and at five o'clock the following morning the bloody work began. The old chief and two of his people in the house were shot dead; his wife, outrageously treated, died next day. Before daylight thirty-eight persons had been murdered, and of those who succeeded in escaping to the mountains, many are believed to have perished from exposure. "All I regret is," wrote the Secretary, "that any of the sept got away." The tale of the massacre evoked the horror of all Scotland.

It was not until May of 1695 that the Scottish Parliament proceeded, by way of Commission, to call the Master of Stair to account for his share in the tragedy of Glencoe, but once the Commissioners went to work they did it so expeditiously that their report was ready by the 20th of June. They characterised as a great wrong to "Glenco" that he should have been allowed to sign the oath and that his signature should not have been accepted as valid, connected the Secretary with the knowledge that Glencoe had signed it, absolved the King from any responsibility, charged the Secretary with having exceeded his instructions, and linked up his letters with the slaughter, "which in effect was a barbarous murder perpetrated by the persons deponed against." Parliament homologated the findings and affirmed the execution of the Glencoe men "to be a murder;" and in an Address to the King affirmed that the Master of Stair's excess in his letters had been "the original cause of this unhappy business," and asked the King to deal with him as in his royal wisdom he should see fit. In November of the same year the Secretary, through the death of his father, became Viscount Stair, and, withdrawing himself from public life, went to live on his estates. The King did not forget the many important services which his late Secretary for Scotland had rendered to the nation. He was well assured, he declared, of his good intentions and recognised the sacrifice he had made by divesting himself of his official position. While he condemned the circumstances of the massacre, he entirely exonerated Stair from any accession to the method of execution, and concluded by granting him letters of remission under the great seal. It was not until 1700, however, that, largely owing to the influence exerted by his brother, Sir Hew Dalrymple, President of the Court of Session, the Viscount was able to take his seat in Parliament. The King had added to the remission a gift of bishop's rents and feu duties in the parish of Glenluce; and in 1703, prior to the meeting of the last Scottish Parliament, the late

Secretary received an accession of dignity and became Earl of Stair.

This Parliament met at a critical juncture in the relations of the two kingdoms. The union of the Crowns had not brought them together, it became evident that if matters were allowed to drift hostilities could hardly be avoided, and events began to shape themselves towards a union of the Parliaments. Towards this end the Earl of Stair laboured assiduously. When it was determined to appoint Commissioners, he and his two brothers, President Sir Hew Dalrymple and Sir David Dalrymple, then Solicitor General, were all in the Scottish nomination. On July 23, 1706, the articles of the Treaty were presented to the King, and in October they were laid before the Scottish Parliament. The Treaty met with a stormy reception in Scotland, inside Parliament as well as in the country at large. Lord Stair brought all his eloquence, all his skill in debate, all his wealth of reasoning to bear upon the assembly and to combat the elaborate declamation and the appeals to nationalism that were made by his opponents, and the measure made steady progress. The last article of Union of any importance was passed on January 7, 1707, and the night following the Earl died suddenly in bed, "his spirits," according to Bishop Burnet, "being quite exhausted by the length and vehemence of the debate." A fortnight later his eldest son took the oaths and his seat as Earl of Stair. In Daniel Defoe's "History of the Union" it is recorded that the sudden death of the first Earl was "to the general grief of the whole island, being universally respected"—a eulogy which, taken with other equally laudatory references of the period, would seem to indicate that the feeling created in Scotland by the affair of Glencoe had in a large measure subsided.

The character of the first Earl has been variously drawn. His vigour, his eloquence, his persistency, his intellectuality have never been called in question; but he seems to have held his principles, such as they were,

lightly. In private he was facetious and diverting company, and full of good nature ; in public he pursued the policy he had in hand with the utmost tenacity and determination. If the Glencoe massacre could be forgotten the difficulty of summing him up might not be so great, but that event has left an indelible stain upon him which the lapse of more than two centuries has utterly failed to relieve.

Viscount Stair had strengthened and broadened the foundations of the house of Dalrymple, and had brought the family name into prominence in Scotland, and the first Earl had built conspicuously upon them in the sight of all men. The former had been famous in law, the latter had been in the foremost ranks of Scottish statesmen ; both had been distinguished by great force of character, by mental gifts, and by their exercise. It remained for the second Earl to win fame as a soldier and as an Ambassador. John Dalrymple was the eldest of three brothers surviving at their father's death. Of the other two, the one, the Hon. William Dalrymple of Glenmure, was an officer in the Foot Guards, and was afterwards Member of Parliament successively for the Wigtown Burghs and the county of Wigtown ; the other, the Hon. George Dalrymple of Dalmahoy, was a Baron of Exchequer in Scotland. Of the two daughters of the family, the one, Lady Elizabeth, died unmarried ; the other, Lady Margaret, became the wife of Hugh, third Earl of Loudoun.

It has already been told how, by a sad mischance, John Dalrymple shot his brother. His early affinity was for arms, it grew with his growth, and his parents, recognising, though somewhat unwillingly, that he was destined for a soldier, bestowed upon him a careful education. When his grandfather was a refugee in Holland, John lived with him at Leyden, and studied, together with the general branches of learning, fortification. In 1692, when he was nineteen years of age, he returned from Scotland to Flanders in the cortege of William of Orange, and joined the Allied army as a

volunteer in the Cameronian regiment. The Cameronians were in the thick of the fight at Steinkirk, and Dalrymple was one of the comparatively few who escaped with their lives. This was his baptism of fire, and it was a hot one. In 1695, when his father was raised to the peerage, he became Master of Stair, spent five years between the seat of war on the Continent and Scotland, and then toured in the south of Europe. In 1701 he received his commission in the Scottish Foot Guards, and did duty in Flanders as aide-de-camp to Lord Marlborough. When "the fighting Lord Cutts" led a storming party against the fort of Venlo, the Master of Stair was there; and at the storming of the citadel of Liege he is said to have saved the life of the Prince of Hesse Cassel, afterwards King of Sweden, by shooting a French officer who was just about to cut the Prince down with his sabre. He may have been at Blenheim, but it is uncertain. The Lord Cutts referred to was the Colonel of the Coldstream Guards. So enamoured was he of fighting that, when the war was over, he is declared by his biographer to have died "of a broken heart from inaction."

In 1705, by which time the elevation of Viscount Stair to an Earldom had raised the young soldier to the rank of Lord Dalrymple, he succeeded in getting his Dutch commission exchanged for the Colonelcy of his old regiment, the Cameronians, and he was present, 1706, at the battle of Ramillies, with the rank and command of Brigadier-General. Still pressing forward he had conferred on him the same year the Colonelcy of the Scots Greys. Of this position he was naturally very proud. "I have got the regiment," he wrote to Lord Mar. "I am very glad it falls out as it does." In 1707, through his father's death, Lord Dalrymple became Earl of Stair, attended the last meeting of the Scots Parliament, and took the oaths. He endeavoured to obtain an English peerage in recognition of his father's services in promoting the Union, but in vain, and he had to be content with being elected one of the sixteen Scotch



Representative Peers. For Lord Mar he seems to have entertained a high regard. Mar, on the death of his first wife in 1707, meditated matrimony a second time. Writing to him, the Earl observed—"To be happy and marry twice is too much good fortune for any one man to expect . . . I am not glad to see so good a friend change certain tranquility for so cruel an uncertainty."

In 1708 the Earl was back on the Continent serving under Marlborough, and he was present at the victory of Oudenarde, the third of Marlborough's four great triumphs over the French army. Stair carried the Duke's dispatches home. His own description of the battle, in a letter to Lord Mar, is given with soldierly brevity:—"We beat them all in one day. The action began to be warm about six, and lasted till night. It was chiefly an affair of foot. The French infantry, one may reckon, is entirely ruined. We had the day after the battle about 7000 prisoners, 13 or 17 general officers, above 70 colours and standards." The siege and capture of Lille followed Oudenarde. The reduction of the city was long protracted. The difficulties of feeding the army were enormous, and the French clung to their defences with desperate tenacity. Oudenarde was fought in July; it was in the end of October that Lille capitulated; and, says Stair with great nonchalance, "as soon as ever the siege ended, it began to rain." The Earl was sent to Warsaw in 1709 as envoy-extraordinary, in the hope of persuading the Polish King to augment his forces with a view to crushing the French, and he remained there till 1710, when, at his own request, and promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General and given a Knighthood of St. Andrew, he returned to service in the field. When Douay was taken that year, other French frontier towns fell into the hands of the Allies, and so reduced were the defensive power and resources of France that, according to Voltaire, Lord Stair—who later was on terms of personal acquaintance and correspondence with Voltaire—proposed sending flying squadrons of cavalry right up to the gates of Paris. By this time the British Govern-

ment had grown weary of the war, which was highly expensive as well as glorious, and Stair was sent home to persuade the Ministry to provide more adequate supplies for the carrying on of the campaign. From Ministers he obtained little or no satisfaction, a fact easily accounted for by the carrying on of negotiations, of which Stair was in ignorance, for arranging the preliminaries of peace. Before the end of 1711 Marlborough was dismissed from his offices on a charge of having embezzled public monies, and the Duke of Ormond was placed at the head of the army. Stair was similarly deprived of his command, the Colonelcy of the Scots Greys being made over at a fixed price to the Earl of Portmore ; and Stair, taking advantage of his enforced holiday, returned to Scotland and revisited his friends and estates. His career so far had been uniformly brilliant. Like many other soldiers of the period, he had developed a weakness for gambling, and he lost heavily, but his friends had come loyally to his support, and had enabled him to recover his threatened financial position.

It was probably in 1714 that the Earl was married in Edinburgh to Lady Eleanor Campbell, daughter of the Earl of Loudoun, and widow of the first Viscount Primrose, who had died in 1706. This lady, though occasionally troubled with hysterical ailments, proved an admirable wife and exercised a highly beneficial influence over her husband, particularly in the way of restraining him from over-indulgence in wine, to which, after the fashion of the period, he was somewhat prone. In this connection an interesting story is told by William Chambers in his "Stories of Old Families" :—"In one of his drunken fits he (Stair) so far exceeded the bounds of reason and gentlemanly conduct as to give her (the Countess) so severe a blow upon the upper part of her face as to occasion the effusion of blood. He immediately afterwards fell asleep, unconscious of what he had done. Overwhelmed by a tumult of bitter feeling, Lady Stair made no attempt to bind up her wound, but remained near her torpid husband and wept and bled till morning.

When his lordship awoke and learned that the cause of his wife's dishevelled and bloody figure was his own conduct, he was so stung by remorse as never afterwards to take any species of drink except what was sanctioned by her ladyship."

The correspondence of this period of the Earl's mother, the Dowager Countess of Stair, with her son, is an interesting admixture of politics, piety, and domestic detail. The death of Queen Anne averted the threatened peril of a Jacobite Administration and assured the succession of the Elector of Hanover. The Queen's death the Dowager Countess regards "as a surprising show of Providence, which is certainly the ground of high praise to God," and she expresses the hope that "the nations may live under the due impression of the greatness of their deliverance." From the demise of the Sovereign her ladyship turns to the fear that the Earl will "get but a bad market for his black cattle," but comforts herself with the reflection that "if all other things be well, there will be the less matter of that." In a second letter she returns to the Queen's death as a proof that "the scales of the earth belong unto the Lord, and that He governs the nations," and counsels her son not to neglect to "ratify his baptismal covenant by partaking of the Lord's Supper." A few days later she returns to the black cattle, and expresses a fear that it may be necessary to send them up to England to sell them. The Earl's dogs interest her, and his furniture at Castle Kennedy, and she commends her son to "the conduct of the good providence of God." This special commendation was evoked by the Earl's appointment as British envoy to the French Court, though at first without being invested with the rank of Ambassador.

It was on January 23, 1715, that Lord Stair, leaving his wife and daughter in Scotland to follow later, arrived at the Court of France. Here he spent the five following years, and very trying and complicated years the Earl found them to be. At heart he appears to have disliked

the French; he had fought against them and had acquired a soldier's hostility to them. His manner was a combination of official courtesy and brusqueness. He felt the dignity and the responsibility of his position, and he carried himself accordingly. The French Court was a scene of Jacobite plotting and intrigue, and it was the Earl's business to discover the sources of these and to counteract them. He had to come into conflict with men of almost every station who were playing the game double, and had to adapt himself to their manœuvres so that he might the better understand them. Amid an environment such as that, it is little wonder if the Earl's Ambassadorship was a mixture of success and misunderstanding, or that in the end he fell a victim to the hostility of his political antagonists at home.

To follow the windings of these five years would be to trace the course of French and British diplomacy over a highly interesting period, but not a period that has anything to do with the history of the Dalrymple family, except as it throws light upon the character of the second Earl. Like many another statesman of the time he placed no inconsiderable faith in the pretensions of John Law of Laurieston, the financier whose schemes for the restoration of the French credit excited such high hopes and ended in such dismal failure. The Earl, however, differed from most other men in discovering Law's real character long before it had been proven by consummate financial disaster. So highly did he think of him, to begin with, that he commended him to the Home Government as "a man with a head fit for calculations of all kinds to an extent beyond anybody," and as one who "might be useful in devising some plan for paying off the national debts." Law was "the cleverest man that is." The finances of the French Government were in an almost hopeless muddle; their expenditure was believed to exceed the income by "25 millions annually." Up to a certain period Law's schemes appeared to prosper. He established a private bank of issue that succeeded so well that, after a year,

it was taken over by the Government, with Law as director-general, and became known as the Royal Bank.

Following this came the great Mississippi Scheme, a gigantic trading adventure, the shares of which were run upon with an avidity beyond measure, and upon whose preliminary success Law rose to an unexampled pinnacle of fortune and consideration. Stair by this time had no belief in him, and he did not hesitate to express his distrust. He did so in such unmistakable language as to excite the sharp antagonism of the British Government, who, taking their cue from France, were disposed to regard Law as a heavenborn genius in the domain of money. The Earl's outspokenness had probably a great deal to do with the termination in 1720 of his Ambassadorship, but that it was amply justified, the result of the Mississippi Scheme demonstrated in the most fatal fashion. Two hundred and fifty thousand shares had been issued, of 500 livres each; they were hotly competed for in the market. In 1719 fresh trading concessions ran up the value of the shares enormously. Law was in the zenith of his power, and his house was daily thronged with persons of all ranks and classes begging him to permit them to share in the Scheme. Within a year the bubble burst, the shares fell till they were not worth 25 livres each, and ultimately until they were not worth holding at all. Distress and suffering followed upon the panic that ensued, and Law, his life sought for by the angry Parisians, had to escape post haste to Brussels, a discredited and a disgraced man. Stair had foreseen the end long before it arrived, but, like other prophets of evil, his predictions had been lightly regarded. But they were remembered, none the less, though too late to do any good, when the crash came.

A large share of the Earl's mission to France was to counteract the schemes of the Jacobites. The net of intrigue had been widely woven, and Stair employed every means within his reach, and some of them not over scrupulous, to break it. This he was largely

instrumental in doing. But while thus engaged in affairs of high State he had various little commissions to do for his friends at home that are interesting as sidelights upon the period. He had to send across to Scotland a gown and laces for Lady Loudoun. For the Duke of Argyll he had to buy half-a-dozen pairs of stockings of goat's hair, "of different colours of grey, some light, some dark, and long enough of the feet and legs." These all suited except one pair, that was returned in order to be exchanged for "one of a scarlet colour, if that is to be had without a mixture of any other colour; if not a pair as near to white as possible." He had to purchase also for the Duke, knives, forks, and spoons "of the St. Cloud sort of chiney (handles), and two dozen of a less size for dessert." The celebrated Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, now verging upon old age but still keenly alive to society, dress, scandal, and politics, wanted a nightgown for herself and a "petticoate" for Lady Harriott. "My nightgown," the Duchess wrote, "need have no petticoate to it, being only of that sort to be easy and warm, with a light silk wadd in it, such as is used to come out of bed and to gird round without any train at all, but very full; 'tis no matter what colour except pink or yellow, no gold or silver in it, but some pretty striped satin or damask lined with a tafety of the same colour." Her ladyship added a somewhat severe comment on the French ladies: "I have known some that were very complaisant and agreeable in conversation, but I never had the luck to meet with one woman that was bred in France that was sincere."

The Earl of Stair found living in Paris to be very expensive, and much beyond his means. His official income did not at all suffice to meet his necessary outlays, and the result was a good deal of compulsory economy later on. It is said that he frequented coffee houses in disguise in order to unearth the machinations of the Jacobites. One anecdote has it that "he was bid by Louis XIV. enter a carriage before himself, and that he



did so as a piece of good breeding when the King desired him," but the story is doubtful, and that the more that the King entertained a measure of dislike to the Earl. When he wished to conciliate a person of distinction, it is recorded that he sometimes did so by the present of a pair of Galloway ponies, a breed at that period almost extinct.

As has been said, the Earl of Stair had not the full rank of Ambassador when first he went to Paris ; indeed, it was not until 1719 that he attained to the entire dignity of the position. Once fully endowed he made what the Duc de St. Simon calls a "superb" entry. "The splendour of the carriages, the horses with their gorgeous trappings, the liveries of the running footmen, presented a *tout ensemble* which exceeded everything of the kind previously witnessed in Paris." But a certain degree of humiliation attended upon the pageant, for when the eight horses that drew the Earl's carriage came to the Court of the Tuilleries the French Master of Ceremonies informed the Ambassador that only carriages with two horses could enter the "court of the King," and accordingly six of the horses had to be withdrawn. Another misunderstanding, due to his lordship's high notions of punctillio, followed soon after. He had visited the princes of the blood, and in turn they came to return his formal calls. When the Prince de Conti arrived, the Earl wanted to receive him at the head of the staircase, and not at the foot of the stairs as was the custom, and the Prince declined to complete his visit under the circumstances. In the dispute which ensued the French Court was solidly opposed to the Earl, and a considerable bitterness was occasioned ; and when representation was made to the Government at home Ministers desired Stair to conform to the usual custom.

The position that Stair had taken in relation to Law the financier made it desirable that he should be recalled; and accordingly, with a view to the saving of appearances, the Earl intimated to the Government his desire to be relieved of office. He had not been more than a month

in England before the Mississippi Scheme collapsed. His appearance and manners at the period are thus described by the Duc de St. Simon :—" Lord Stair was a very plain Scottish gentleman, tall, well-made, thin, still in the vigour of his age, holding his head high, and with a lofty air. He was lively, very enterprising, bold and audacious by temperament and on principle. He had wit, address, fashion, was active withal, well-informed, reserved, master of himself and of his countenance, speaking easily all languages, according as he thought it suitable to use one or other. Under the pretext of loving society, good cheer, and debauchery, which, however, he never pushed to any great extent, he was attentive in making acquaintances and forming connections of which he could make use in the service of his master and party. He was poor, expensive, very ardent, and ambitious."

The Earl did not stay long in London on his return from Paris. The cost of Ambassadorship had seriously crippled his resources, and he was fain to seek comparative retirement in Scotland, where he and his wife resided for the next twenty years, mostly on his lordship's estate of Newliston in West Lothian. Here, as on his other Scottish estates, in Ayrshire and Wigtownshire, he found ample scope for his energy as an agriculturist and a tree planter. From England he brought new implements and machinery, he cultivated turnips and cabbages and new kinds of grasses, and he grew grain crops upon an extensive scale. The grounds adjacent to the old mansion-house of Newliston he planted in straight lines, with sunk fences and bastions, in the form of an encampment or fortified position; and, following the French taste of the period, he laid off the further policy grounds and woods in straight lines, with intersecting and corresponding avenues. At Castle Kennedy, too, his lordship's taste for landscape gardening was most effectively exercised. " Deep grassy slopes and embankments," writes John Murray Graham in 'The Stair Annals,' " lines of closely mown terraces, and rows of

trees and shrubs, heights with miniature forts like bastions and angles, still show the hand of a master familiar with the French fashion of gardening, as well as with the fortifications of Flanders. A semicircular rustic theatre, in the manner of the one at Versailles, is suggestive of parties of pleasure and of a warmer climate ; the *tout ensemble* having this peculiarity, that the taste of ornamentation borrowed from a champaign country is applied to broken and undulating ground, without much apparent incongruity ensuing."

Thus in the pursuits of a Scottish country gentleman the Earl of Stair spent year after year. But not in these alone. The man who had been in the heat of so many conflicts in the field of battle, and who had spent five years amid the glories of the Court of Versailles, was not to be denied his share in promoting within his own sphere the interests of the country he had served with such zeal, and which in all probability he might have continued to serve throughout if only he had been less outspoken and less true to himself, and more of a courtier. He had had the misfortune to incur the hostility of Sir Robert Walpole, the Prime Minister, whose history from 1721 to 1742, when he was retired into private life, may be said to have been that of the nation, and he was a prominent member of the Country Party in Scotland that worked so assiduously in conjunction with their friends in England for the overthrow of the great Whig chief. Stair was himself a Whig, but he was ready to associate with the Tories in order to get rid of a man whose policy he disapproved, and whom he personally distrusted. Walpole paid him back for his opposition. He deprived him of his position as Vice-Admiral for Scotland, and then of his Colonelcy of the Enniskillens—the latter dismissal being intimated to him by the Duke of Newcastle in the curt sentence—"My Lord, I was this morning commanded by the King to acquaint your lordship that he has no further occasion for your services." There is reason to believe that the King shared in Walpole's personal hostility to the Earl.

The latter had voted for the Bill introduced into the House of Lords by the second Duke of Marlborough to make commissions for officers in the Army be for life ; and the King is reported to have observed that “ he would never let a man keep anything by favour who had endeavoured to keep it by force.” The Ministerial Peers in Scotland were powerful enough to defeat Stair for election as a representative Peer, but he went on his way tenaciously through it all, and in the end he and his friends had the satisfaction of bringing about the defeat of Walpole and of seeing him, raised to the dignity of the Earl of Orford, relegated to private life.

The one great mistake of a purely personal character that Stair made in this connection was to write to the Queen a letter which the Chamberlain, Lord Grantham, delivered into her hands :—

“ Madam, I am much distressed as regards myself at being so unfortunate as to displease you ; I am still more so as regards your Majesty. Were it in my power to see your Majesty in the difficult conjuncture in which we now are in respect to foreign affairs I might perhaps afford your Majesty some light which might be useful.

“ My disgrace, madam, does not make me forget the instances of goodness your Majesty has shown to me. You have many subjects who have better heads, you have none who have hearts more faithfully and more disinterestedly attached to the glory or to the true interest of your Majesty and your House.”

Queen Caroline at once had the letter sent to Sir Robert Walpole, and the Prime Minister showed it to the King ; and Lord Hervey in his *Memoirs* remarks that “ all the effect it had on his Majesty was making him call Lord Stair a puppy for writing it, and Lord Grantham a fool for bringing it.” But while the Earl had thus to endure all the slings and taunts that opposition to the Government entailed, he had two material consolations.

The first was that he retained the confidence and respect of his own friends and that in the long run they managed to overturn the Administration; the second, that he was always able to obtain relaxation from his political troubles in the pursuit of rural pleasures. "As long as you live," wrote the old Duchess of Marlborough to him, "I am sure you will act as you have done for the honour and good of your country. . . . You will die as you live a man of great honour."

In the development of his estates the Earl took a great interest. He had "ploughs and drills" sent to him from Bristol; one of the latter, which cost five guineas, being "of a new invention that cuts the ground in four places at once, and a sloping share behind raiseth it, throws it off, and lets it fall like dust." His correspondence shows him interested in the prospects of the harvest, in the forage of his horses, in the feeding and sale of his Galloway cattle, in his peaches and nectarines, in the development of the minerals at Drongan on his Ayrshire property. His lordship appears to have had a firm faith in the Cromwellian conjunction of trust in God and keeping your powder dry. Looking out upon the national troubles, "Providence," he writes, "has hitherto on many occasions taken care of this nation when we had very dismal prospects of public affairs, but we shall be much to blame if, trusting to Providence, we shall neglect the means of saving ourselves and our country. Providence very seldom delivers persons or a people who do nothing to assist themselves."

The General Election of 1741 left parties pretty equally balanced in the country. In Scotland the Patriots, as the Country Party called themselves, had secured two-thirds of the representation. Though in effect the power of Walpole had been broken, the Earl of Stair was very far from being exhilarated as regarded himself and his own prospects. "For my own part," he wrote, "I am so thoroughly convinced that I can be of no use to my country or to my friends that I am going to set out this very day to take care of my little affairs

as a farmer, where I shall hear very little of politics but what I learn from the newspapers." Again, "In a very few days I return into Galloway to take care of my rural affairs, where I shall in no degree meddle with affairs of State and hear very little of them but what I hear from the prints." But in the Earl's case as in many others it was the dark hour that preceded the dawn, for, with the resignation of Walpole in 1742, the Earl, then in his seventieth year, was appointed Commander-in-Chief and Field Marshal.

War had again broken out on the Continent. The occasion was what is known in history as the Pragmatic Sanction, on ordinance by which Charles VI., Emperor of Germany, having no male issue, settled his dominions on his daughter the Archduchess Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia. The ordinance was disputed by the Elector of Bavaria, who had been crowned Emperor at Frankfort, and whose cause was espoused zealously by France, and, though less zealously, by Prussia. In aid of the Pragmatic Sanction, Great Britain resolved to send 16,000 troops to Flanders, to be joined by an equal number of Hanoverians, on their way to the seat of war, under the command of Lord Stair. The closing words of the commission granted to the Earl by George II. were, "And you are to obey such orders as you shall from time to time receive from Us." By this proviso the King virtually retained the supreme command in his own hands.

The following year the armies came into collision at Dettingen, a Bavarian village on the Main. Stair had advanced to too great a distance from his supplies, and it seemed as if he were at the mercy of the French. By orders of the King, who arrived on the eve of battle, and who acted without consulting the Earl, it was resolved to fall back at all hazards upon the army's communication with its magazines and expected reinforcements. The Duc de Noailles, the French Commander-in-Chief, anticipated that he would catch the British troops in a trap, and in all probability he



would have done so but for the indiscretion of his own nephew, who, disobeying orders, left an impregnable position to hasten the rout on which he counted. The result of this precipitation was fatal to the French. Their ranks became disordered, the British cavalry—the Scots Greys among them, commanded by Sir James Campbell of Loudoun—completed the disorder and drove back the enemy with great slaughter; the French foot threw down their arms and fled, and a fiercely contested battle ended in the defeat of the French with a loss of 6000 men. Stair urged upon George II. the duty of pursuing the enemy and breaking them up, but his advice was disregarded, and in other two important respects his counsels were similarly overruled. The result was that the Earl asked to be relieved of his command, and his request was granted at once. It is evident that the old feeling of hostility at the instance of the Court party to the Earl of Stair had not died away. He was far too experienced and astute a man not to recognise that it was so; and he had every reason for concluding that a profound blunder had been made in not vigorously following up the victory won upon the Dettingen field. The step that he took was the only one consistent with his own self-respect, and it at once put an end to a delicate and, on the whole, an impossible situation.

A prolonged controversy raged over the action of the King in placing too marked reliance upon the Hanoverian commanders and in refusing to give effect to the wishes of his own Field Marshal. Stair had many friends to champion his cause. “In Lord Stair,” Lord Sandwich declared from his place in Parliament, “were lost all that ever nature or that experience had furnished to complete a General—a mind at once calm and intrepid, a temper at once active and resolute;” and Lord Westmorland said that “the man so long celebrated for his courage, his wisdom, and his integrity—the man who had so frequently signalised his zeal for the present royal family—had been reduced to a statue with a

truncheon in his hand, and permitted only to share the dangers and hardships of the campaign of which the Electoral Divan regulated the operation." Poetry also came to the Earl's eulogy; the author believed to have been an officer under his lordship's command :—

What joys arose in patriot breasts to see  
In Stair their King and country too agree,  
That merit was not such an odious thing  
But still could share even honours from a King !  
Success seemed certain when they heard thy name,  
And saw a Dettingen before it came.

Thy deeds shall bear through future times thy name,  
And Dettingen for ever sound thy fame.  
Oh, had we by thy sage advice been led,  
Had we pursued the victory as they fled,  
France would have wept the numbers of her slain,  
And the famed Danube yielded to the Main.

The cloud that rested over the manner of Stair's resignation was lightened in 1744, when the King, "reposing special trust and confidence" in the Earl's conduct and abilities, appointed him to the command of the forces in South Britain, when alarms of French invasion were rife. The appointment was the occasion of much "real joy" to the famous Colonel James Gardiner; it was "the best news he had heard since the battle of Dettingen;" and Lord Drummor wrote assuring him that "it gave satisfaction to the nation and grieved its enemies." There was no invasion, and the Earl of Stair had fought his last battle. He took an active interest in the means taken to stamp out the rebellion of 1745, and made some practical suggestions for cutting off the retreat of Prince Charles Edward when he had marched south into England. On May 9, 1747, he died at Queensberry House, and with him the third generation of the Stairs in the direct line came to an end. The Countess survived her husband by twelve years.

The character of this remarkable man is written broadly across his lengthened and much alternated public life. Of high courage, of unquestionable loyalty,

clearly foreseeing the drifts of events, without much romance in his nature, outspoken, determined, and endowed with the courage of opinion, his lot was cast upon stormy and changeful times. He was a soldier, he was an Ambassador, he was a politician, and in each capacity he went straight forward. The *fortiter in re* in his composition was, perhaps unfortunately for himself, not sufficiently balanced by the *suaviter in modo*, but he was philosopher enough to take things as he found them, and he was the happy possessor of an elasticity that raised him above misfortunes. When he went to war, it was to fight with all his heart ; when he was Ambassador, the interests of his country were paramount with him, he spake with Kings and was not afraid ; when he went into politics against a Minister practically omnipotent over a score of years, it was to persevere until he had helped to overthrow the great dominant one-man force ; and when he felt compelled to court seclusion and to retire from the busy scene of the national life, it was to settle down to agriculture and arboriculture with all the enthusiasm of a country gentleman. If in some respects the second Earl of Stair was a somewhat curious mixture, he was none the less a consistent whole, and he kept his character as a man of affairs pure and unspotted at a time when the public life of the country was very far indeed from being what it ought to have been. He completed a remarkable trio of Dalrymples, men by no means faultless, but all powerfully individualistic and worthy of being remembered as Scotsmen who played in their day and generation no small part in the history of their country.

James Dalrymple, second surviving son of Colonel the Honourable William Dalrymple (second son of the first Earl of Stair and Penelope, Countess of Dumfries in her own right, by decision of the House of Lords), succeeded to the title and became third Earl of Stair. He was admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates, July 2, 1728, and died unmarried at Castle M'Douall, in the county of Wigtown, November 13, 1760, when, in

accordance with the remainders in the patent, the title of Stair devolved on his elder brother, William Earl of Dumfries. William Dalrymple, fourth Earl of Stair, K.T., and fourth Earl of Dumfries, was born 1699. He succeeded his brother as fourth Earl of Stair, 1760. He adopted the military profession, and was in his uncle the Earl of Stair's regiment of Dragoons, and served in that regiment and in the third Foot Guards (Scots) for twenty-six years. He acted as aide-de-camp to his uncle the Earl of Stair at the battle of Dettingen, was appointed Captain-Lieutenant in the third regiment of Foot Guards, 1784, and invested with the Order of the Thistle at St. James's, March 11, 1752. He succeeded his mother as Earl of Dumfries, 6th March, 1742. As representing His Majesty, he invested the Duke of Hamilton at Holyrood Palace, April 3, 1755, with the Order of the Thistle. He built Dumfries House, near Cumnock, and dying there, 27th July, 1768, was buried at Cumnock. Lord Dumfries and Stair was twice married; first, April 2, 1731, to Lady Anne Gordon, daughter of the second Earl of Aberdeen, and by her, who died at Edinburgh, April 15, 1755, and was buried at Cumnock, he had issue—William, styled Lord Crichton, born December 12, 1734, died at Marylebone School, September 9, 1744. His lordship married secondly, June 19, 1762, Anne, eldest daughter of William Duff of Crombie by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Dalrymple of Castleton, but by her had no issue. She married secondly the Hon. Alexander Gordon, a Lord of Session, as Lord Rockville, fourth son of William, second Earl of Aberdeen.

John Dalrymple, fifth Earl of Stair, was the eldest son of the Hon. George Dalrymple, Baron of Exchequer, and youngest son of the first Earl of Stair, and was named by his uncle the second Earl to succeed him in his title and estates. His right to the title was contested, and by judgment of the House of Lords awarded to his cousin. He was admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates, December 8, 1741; later he entered the

Army and was promoted to Captain. He succeeded to the title of Stair, July, 1768, on the death of his first cousin, the fourth Earl, and was chosen one of the Representative Peers of Scotland, 1771. Lord Stair was opposed to hostilities with America, and when inimical measures were framing against the Colonies, he gave them an early opposition in the House of Lords, and presented the petition of William Bollan, Agent for Massachussets, against these proceedings, and never failed to show his disapprobation of every measure which appeared likely to provoke hostilities with America. He took a rather gloomy view of the national credit and resources, and was the author of various pamphlets on our national finance of much merit, though he was called the Cassandra of the State for his gloomy predictions. He is given a place in "Lord Orford's Royal and Noble Authors," by Thomas Park, vol. v., p. 166. Lord Stair sold the estate of Newliston, in West Lothian, which had been left to him by his uncle, to Roger Hog, Esq. He married in May, 1748, Margaret, daughter of George Middleton, of Erroll, banker in London, and by her had issue. Lord Stair died at Culhorn, near Stranraer, October 13, 1789, and was succeeded by his only son.

John Dalrymple, sixth Earl of Stair, was born at Edinburgh, September 24, 1749, and was educated at Eton and Edinburgh University. Later he entered the Army, and in October, 1779, became a Captain in the 87th Regiment of Foot. He served in the American War, and was present at the successful attack on New London and Fort Griswold, made in September, 1781, by General Arnold, who sent Lord Dalrymple, as he then was, with his despatches to Sir Henry Clinton. In these he says: "Lord Dalrymple will have the honour to deliver my despatches. I feel myself under great obligations to him for his exertions upon the occasion." Sir Henry Clinton sent home Lord Dalrymple with his despatches, and in a letter which he wrote to Lord George Germain occurs the following: "My despatches will be delivered to your lordship by Lord Dalrymple; and I cannot part with

his lordship without testifying to you the high opinion I have of his merit, and my entire approbation of his conduct since he has been on this service, acting as one of my aides-de-camp, having always shown the greatest attention to me, and highly distinguished his spirit, by attending as a volunteer upon every expedition and excursion which have taken place since his being here." Shortly afterwards, January 5, 1782, Lord Dalrymple was appointed His Majesty's Minister-Plenipotentiary to the King and Republic of Poland, which appointment he held till August 5, 1785, when he was appointed Envoy-Extraordinary and Minister-Plenipotentiary to the Court of Berlin. It was during his stay there that he was sent as first Commissioner to confer the Order of the Garter on the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, Sir Isaac Heard being his colleague. The Landgrave was invested at Cassel, August 7, 1786. Lord Dalrymple succeeded his father as sixth Earl of Stair, October 13, 1789, and was elected a Representative Peer for Scotland in 1790, and also in 1796, 1802, 1806, 1820. He died unmarried at his house in Spring Gardens, London, June 1, 1821, and was buried in the vault at Inch, Wigtownshire, and was succeeded by his cousin.

John William Henry Dalrymple, seventh Earl of Stair, was the only son of General William Dalrymple, younger brother of the fifth Earl. He was born November 16, 1784, and was educated at Eton; later he entered the Army and served for a time in the 5th Dragoon Guards. He married, May 28, 1804, Johanna, daughter of Charles Gordon of Clunie; but not considering that marriage to be valid, he married, June 2, 1808, Laura, youngest daughter of John Manners of Grantham Grange, Lincolnshire, by Louisa, afterwards Countess of Dysart. This marriage was, however, set aside, in consequence of a decision of the Ecclesiastical Court, July 16, 1811, that the previous one was good. The marriage of 1804 was itself annulled six years later, in June, 1820. Lord Stair died in his house in Paris, 20th March, 1840, when he was succeeded by his cousin.



Sir John Hamilton Dalrymple, Bart., eighth Earl of Stair, was the eldest surviving son of Sir John Dalrymple Hamilton Macgill of Cousland and Oxenfoord, Bart., by Elizabeth Hamilton Macgill, his wife, heiress of Fala and Oxenfoord. He was great-great-grandson of the Hon. Sir James Dalrymple of Borthwick, Bart., second son of James, first Viscount of Stair. He was born in Edinburgh, 1771, entered the Army and held a commission in the 3rd Regiment of Foot Guards, with which regiment he served in Flanders in 1794 and 1795. In 1805 he accompanied the expedition to Hanover, and in July, 1807, he went to Zealand, and was present at the siege of Copenhagen. At his father's death in 1810, he succeeded him as fifth Baronet of Cousland. In politics a strong Whig, he made two attempts to enter Parliament as the representative for Midlothian under the old constituency, but without success. After the passing of the Reform Bill he was returned for Midlothian. On March 20, 1840, he succeeded his cousin as eighth Earl of Stair, and in April of that year he was appointed Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland, which office he held till September, 1841, and again from August, 1846, to August, 1852. He was created a Peer of the United Kingdom with the title of Baron Oxenfoord of Cousland, by patent dated August 16, 1841. On July 20, 1831, he was appointed Colonel of the 92nd Highlanders, which appointment he held till May 31, 1843, when he was appointed Colonel of the 46th Regiment of Foot. He obtained the rank of General in the Army, January 28, 1838, and was appointed a Knight of the Thistle, July 12, 1847. He died at Oxenfoord Castle, January 10, 1853, and was buried in the vault at Cranston Church. He was twice married—first at Kenilworth, Warwickshire, June 25, 1795, to Harriet, eldest daughter of the Rev. Robert Augustus Johnson, of Kenilworth, by Anne, sister to William, sixth Lord Craven, who died at Oxenfoord Castle without issue, October 16, 1823, and was buried at Cranstoun; secondly, June 8, 1825, to Adamina, fourth daughter of Admiral Adam, first

Viscount Duncan, of Camperdown. She died without issue at Oxenfoord Castle, August 1, 1857, and is buried in the vault at Cranstoun.

The eighth Earl was succeeded by Sir North Hamilton Dalrymple, of Cleland and Fordel, his next surviving brother. He was born 1776, and served as a Volunteer with the 24th Regiment at the taking of the Cape, 1806. Later he entered the Army and had a commission in the 22nd Light Dragoons, in which regiment he served till 1810, and then in the 25th Light Dragoons. He succeeded as ninth Earl of Stair in January, 1853, and dying at Oxenfoord Castle, November 9, 1864, was buried in the vault at Cranstoun Church. He was twice married—first, 1817, to Margaret, youngest daughter of James Penny, Esq., of Arrall, who died 1828; and secondly, to Martha Willet, daughter of Colonel George Dalrymple.

Sir John Hamilton Dalrymple, tenth Earl of Stair, K.T., was born April 1, 1819, and educated at Musselburgh and Harrow. He entered the Army, and served for some years in the Scots Fusilier Guards. Elected M.P. for Wigtownshire in 1841, he sat for that constituency till 1856, when he resigned. He succeeded his father as tenth Earl, 1864, and was appointed a Knight of the Thistle, 1865. He was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Wigtownshire, 1851, and Lord-Lieutenant of Ayrshire, 1870, which later appointment he resigned in 1897. His lordship was Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for the years 1869, 1870, and 1871. He was a Captain, and President of the Council of the Royal Company of Archers, the King's Bodyguard for Scotland, Governor of the Bank of Scotland, and Chancellor of Glasgow University. He died at Lochinch, December 3, 1903. He married Louisa Jane, eldest daughter of the Duke de Coigny, by Henrietta Dalrymple Hamilton of Bargany, and by her, who died 1896, had issue. The tenth Earl, who was as highly respected as he was widely known throughout Scotland, was a man of great force of

character. His interests were many. In matters of Church and State he was equally concerned, and while it cannot be said that he was specially prominent either as a politician or as a Churchman, his individuality and the courage with which he asserted his opinions gained for them in many quarters a pervading and a permeating influence. As the Lord-Lieutenant of Ayrshire and of Wigtownshire, he gave to the concerns of both shires great attention ; and over the wide estates of the Stair family he was regarded by his tenantry as a considerate and an excellent practical landlord. On his lordship's death in December, 1903, he was succeeded by his eldest son,

John Hew North Gustave Henry, Viscount Dalrymple, as eleventh Earl. His lordship, born June 12, 1848, served in the Royal Horse Guards, from which he retired with the rank of Major, and afterwards with the Ayrshire Yeomanry Cavalry. He married, 1878, Susan, daughter of Sir James Grant Suttie, Bart., and has issue. His eldest son, John James, Viscount Dalrymple, born February 1, 1879, is Member of Parliament for Wigtownshire. The Earl takes an active interest in the public affairs of his own county, and at present is Provost of Stranraer, in which capacity he sits upon the Convention of Scottish Burghs, where he has distinguished himself by evincing much interest in the promotion of Scottish affairs.

## CHAPTER VIII

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### THE EARLDOM OF GLENCAIRN

The origin of the Cuninghames can be traced back at least to the days of De Morville, the Constable of Scotland, and the great lord of the Cunningham district of Ayrshire, but whether that was their first appearance or not upon the county scene is open to reasonable doubt. De Morville was himself of Norman lineage, and he was generous in his gifts to his Norman vassals, but it does not necessarily follow that because he conferred the lands of Kilmaurs upon the specific and traceable forbear of the Cuninghames he was by any means the first of his race conspicuous enough to be worthy of recognition.

The motto of the Glencairn family, "Over fork over," has a legend attached to it that carries the story back to the days of Malcolm, the son of Duncan, and of Macbeth. Macbeth, according to this tradition, was in hot pursuit of Malcolm, and the latter sought hiding in a barn. One of his attendants, zealous for the safety of his master, forked hay or straw over him, and so enabled him to escape the vengeance of his pursuer. Whether this is a fable, or the incident is founded on fact, none can say, but it seems to have been a reasonable enough inference that there must have been a distinct and definite reason for the shakefork and the motto on the family coat of arms.

The progenitor approved on evidence of the genealogists was one Warnebald, to whom Hugh de Morville in the twelfth century gave the manor and villam of Cuninghame in the vicinity of Kilmaurs. Warnebald is to all appearance a Danish name, and not a Norman, and it is possible he or his progenitors may have been of the race of the sea kings, not a few of whom obtained for themselves a footing on Scottish soil. The name Cunningham, as applied to the northern district of Ayrshire, is older than the surname of the family, and there does not seem to be any reason whatever to believe that the district obtained its designation from the sept or clan of which the laird of Kilmaurs was the head. Rather is it likely, if the two must go together at all, that the Cuninghames took their name from the district, which found its designation in the Celtic word "cuineag," signifying a churn, the terminology meaning the district. A different derivation has been sought in the Danish equivalent for King's house or home, but the probability of this being so is negatived by the eventual fact that Cuninghām never was the abode of a King. Suffice it that Warnebald was in his day a man of note, that he had the good fortune to be a friend and vassal of De Morville, and that De Morville, with that large heartedness and generosity that appears to have characterised him, bestowed upon him, for services rendered, or in token of esteem, the place of Kilmaurs.

The antiquity of the family in any event is as eminently respectable as it is well authenticated. The Cuninghames have been of Ayrshire these eight hundred years, and they remain a leading family in the county to this day. Like many other of the Barons of the early years, they signalled their devotion to the faith by giving grants to the Church. Robert de Cuninghame, the second in descent, gave the Church of Kilmaurs to the monks of Kelso in 1170, and prior to that date, in conjunction with his wife, Rescinda, daughter and heir of Sir Humphry de Glenfarqualin, in the county of Kincardine, he had similarly remembered the Abbey of

Aberbrothock. His son Robert confirmed the grant to Kelso Abbey ; and his son Robert, according to one account, Richard according to another, granted a donation to the Abbey of Paisley about the year 1240. The next in descent, Henry or Hervey, fought gallantly under Alexander III. in the battle of Largs. By his wife, the heiress of Glengarnock, he had two sons. When he died, prior to 1268, he was succeeded by his son, Sir William Cuninghame.

Thus far the records are somewhat misty. The period was lacking in authentic chroniclers, and successions have had to be determined not by authentic family trees, but largely by the names of witnesses to charters and other deeds and by the gifts recorded in the literature of the monasteries. From the incoming of Sir William, however, the story is clear and unbroken. Wedded to Eleanor Bruce, he enjoyed, by right of his wife, the title of Earl of Carrick ; for which Earldom he had a charter from David II. There is no mention in the charter, however, of the honour descending to his heirs and successors, the intention apparently having been that, on his death, the Carrick Earldom should return to the family of Bruce, to whom it rightfully belonged. Sir William was twice married. His first wife, Eleanor Bruce, by whom he had a family, was alive in 1366, but she cannot have long survived, for the second marriage had taken place within two years of that period. Robert, his eldest son, who was one of the hostages for David II. in 1359, predeceased his father. Thomas, the third son, was ancestor of the Cuninghames of Caprington, Enterkine, and the first Cuninghames of Bedland. Following the first came a second Sir William Cuninghame of Kilmaurs, who founded the collegiate church of Kilmaurs, March, 1403. His marriage with Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir Robert de Danyelston, brought him, among other lands, Glencairn in Dumfriesshire, from which his descendants had their title. He died 1413, leaving three sons, the eldest of whom, Sir Robert, married, 1425, Anne, the only daughter of Sir John de



Montgomery of Ardrossan, by whom he had two sons, the younger of whom, Archibald, obtained from his brother a charter of the lands of Watterston.

Alexander Cuninghame, the eldest son of Sir Robert, was created a lord of Parliament by the title Lord Kilmaurs, about 1450. Thirty-eight years later, in 1488, when James III. was hard bested of the rebel lords at Blackness, Lord Kilmaurs rendered him powerful assistance, and the King in return created him Earl of Glencairn. The rebel conspiracy, however, was too powerful to be subdued. Rising in open rebellion, the lords mustered their forces and brought Prince James, soon to be James IV., into the field against his father. The rival forces met at Sauchieburn, within a mile of the famous field of Bannockburn, and, in the conflict that ensued, the Earl, who had remained leal to his liege lord, was slain. Later in the day, as the King was fleeing from the victors, he was assassinated, and among the first acts of the young King was the rescinding of the patents of nobility granted by his father. That of Glencairn was recalled among them, so that his son Robert, who succeeded, November 24, 1488, could only lay claim to the title of Lord Kilmaurs. By his wife, Margaret, daughter of Adam Hepburn of Hailes, the first Earl had four sons. As the Act Recissory, as it was called, was in its turn abrogated, the succession of the Earl is regarded as complete from 1488 onwards. The second son of the first Earl, William Cuninghame of Craigends, was ancestor of the family of that name and of the Cuninghames of Robertland, Carncren, Bedland, Auchenhavrie, and Auchenyards.

Cuthbert Cuninghame, the next in descent, and in whose person the Earldom of Glencairn was restored to the family, is recognised as the third Earl. He appears to have led an active life, both in the county and beyond it. It was in his time that the quarrel with the Montgomeries broke out in deeds of violence. With his brother Archibald and others he was summoned to a Court of Justiciary held at Ayr, March 9, 1498, and was found

guilty of forethought felony committed by them on Hugh Lord Montgomerie, when holding a Court of the bailiary of Cunningham, and also for breaking the King's protection, and fined. It was the transference of the bailieship from Glencairn to Eglinton that was largely the occasion of the feud at that period, and the Earl of Glencairn, then a young man, appears to have thrown himself into the encounter with all the rashness of youth.

In 1502, when a tournament was held in honour of the nuptials of James IV. and Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. of England, he was one of the challengers and was opposed by James Lord Hamilton. It was on this occasion that the Earldom was restored to him by the ceremony of girding with the sword.

When Hugh Campbell of Loudoun, the Sheriff of Ayr, and his accomplices were put to the horn for the murder of the Earl of Cassillis at Prestwick, he befriended them. In 1527 the Master of Glencairn had to find caution to the Court of Justiciary for "intercommuning, assisting, resetting, and supplying" in the Loudoun interest; and there were bracketed with him John Cuninghame of Caprington, David Cuninghame of Bertanholme, Robert Cuninghame of Aiket, William Wallace, tutor of Craigie, George Ross of Haining, John Lockhart of Bar, John Craufurd of Drongan, George Rede in Dandilly, and Quintin Schaw, tutor of Kerse. At the same Court William Cuninghame of Glengarnock, Mungo Mure of Rowallan, John Hamilton of Colmskeithe, James Wallace of Carnale, Adam Wallace of Newton, John Fullarton of Crosbie, and others were fined for non-appearance to underly the law, in connection with the same offence, and their moveables were ordered to be escheated. Glencairn was with the Earl of Lennox when the latter attempted to rescue James V. from the power of the Douglasses, and he was wounded in a battle near Linlithgow, September 4, 1526, when Lennox was slain. His wife, Marjory Douglas, was the eldest daughter of Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, and their son, William, succeeded as

fourth Earl. While yet William was Master of Glencairn, his son was engaged in the broils of the period. In 1538 Richard Lauder and twelve others were denounced rebels for non-appearance at Court on a charge of having assembled with a company numbering about a hundred persons against Andrew Cuninghame, son of the Master. They cruelly wounded and hurt him, took from him his sword, whinger, belt, and purse containing money, and taking his servant, James Cuninghame, they put him in the stocks for twenty-four hours in subjection and captivity, he being a free man.

William, the fourth Earl, was prominently associated with public events. He was one of the members of the English party in Scotland, and throughout his career he was closely involved in the movements, opposition to which gave such force and popularity to the more patriotic cause championed by Cardinal Beaton. While he was yet Lord Kilmaurs he had a pension from the King of England. On June 25, 1526, he was appointed Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, but he only held the office till October of the same year. On the accession of James V., in 1528, he ceased for a little to carry on intrigues with England, and he was one of the Ambassadors sent over to France by that monarch to conclude the treaty for his marriage with Mary of Guise. He was present at the battle and the rout of Solway, in 1542, and fell into the hands of the English, who, with an eye to the utilisation of his services later on, committed him to the keeping of the Duke of Norfolk. The year following he obtained his liberty on payment of a ransom of £1000 and subscribing a secret bond by which he, as well as other noblemen, pledged himself to side with England in the commotions that were reckoned upon as consequent on the determination of Henry to secure a commanding influence in Scotland. It soon became evident that the ambition of the English Sovereign in this respect had little or no chance of being realised, and Glencairn and the Earl of Cassillis succeeded in persuading him to abate some of his pretensions. But if the influence

could not be obtained in one way, it might in another, and Glencairn exerted himself to bring about, and was one of the commissioners appointed to arrange, the marriage of Prince Edward of England with the Scottish Queen.

From the first, Glencairn was an ardent supporter of the Reformation, and he threw himself into the promotion of the cause with ardour and determination. When Wishart came west to preach the doctrines of the reform party, Dunbar, the Archbishop of Glasgow, at the instigation of Cardinal Beaton, repaired to the town of Ayr, determined to apprehend him. Hearing of his intention, the Earl repaired to Ayr, with other gentlemen of the neighbourhood. They offered to put Wishart in the church if he so desired, whatever the Archbishop might say or do, but the reformer would not consent to the use of force. The Archbishop's sermon, he said, "would not do much hurt, and if they pleased he would go to the Market Cross," which accordingly he did and preached to a large concourse of people, and with the result that various "enemies of the truth" were won to the Reformation side. Dunbar's audience consisted of "his jackmen and some old bosses of the town," his "underlings and parasites," and, between the two assemblies, "the very enemies themselves," according to Knox, "were confounded." When Beaton obtained money and military stores from France these fell into the hands of Glencairn and Lennox, and they stored them in the castle of Dumbarton.

But while the cause of the Reformation was making headway, it had not yet become the dominant power in the realm, and Glencairn and Cassillis, together with Angus and Lennox, found it necessary to pledge themselves as loyal and true subjects of the Queen and to assist her in the defence of the realm against their old enemies of England. This step was no doubt taken in their own immediate interest, and they had hardly done more than secure immunity for bygone offending when they resumed consorting with England, urged Henry to

hasten the invasion of Scotland, and formulated a plan by which the invasion could be carried out. Glencairn, having made his peace with Arran, persuaded the latter to release the Highland chiefs imprisoned in Edinburgh and Dunbar, on condition that they would ravage the territory of the Earl of Argyll, and he pointed out to the English King how, by sending a fleet to the Clyde, he could produce a diversion in that nobleman's country. A striking sidelight is thrown upon the Earl's influence in the west country, in the offer he made to convey the English army from Carlisle to Glasgow without stroke or challenge. The action of Henry in burning Leith alienated from the English cause all the Scottish nobles, with the exception of Glencairn and Lennox. These not only held firm by the southern alliance ; they agreed to acknowledge Henry as Protector of Scotland, to use their endeavours to deliver into his hands the young Queen, and to obtain possession on his behalf of the principal fortresses. That they were acting for the Reformation is indicated in the stipulation they made that the Bible, which they described as the only foundation of all truth and honour, should be taught in their territories. As soon as Glencairn had concluded the negotiations, he assembled his vassals, five hundred in number, and marched upon Glasgow to meet the Earl of Arran, who was advancing against him with a much larger force. Glencairn, though outnumbered by two to one, did not hesitate to accept battle, and a " cruellie fochtin " engagement took place on the burgh muir, in which the Earl was defeated and his son Andrew and a large number of his followers slain, while many more were taken prisoners. Glencairn escaped and sought refuge in Dumbarton Castle.

Lennox had meanwhile sought safety in England, where he, acting in consort with Glencairn, planned a descent on the West of Scotland. When the expedition arrived the promised assistance was not forthcoming, and the attempt in consequence was abortive. The English Chancellor inveighed bitterly against the Earl



and his son, "the old fox and his cub," and Glencairn attempted to explain away his supineness by alleging the difficulties of his position, but without avail. In their rage and disappointment the English authorities refused to believe his word, and he found himself in a very critical position, distrusted by both Courts and in danger of utterly falling between two stools. He marched with the Scottish force that went south and encountered the English at Collingham; but when a small body of the English sallied out against the vanguard of the Scots army he joined Angus in disgraceful flight—no doubt with an ulterior end in view. The time, however, had gone by for any more temporising, and there was little or no hope of playing the English game any longer with success. A charge of treason was hanging over their heads; so Angus and Glencairn found it politic to adhere to the cause of the Queen Regent and to offer her their loyal support against the threatened English ascendancy. By this means they induced Parliament to absolve them from the charge of treason.

The fourth Earl died in 1547. He had many strong points of character. It is permissible to suggest that the double game he played, alternating between the Scottish interest and the English, was dictated in some measure by his zeal for the cause of the Reformation on the one hand, and his determination on the other to conserve his own interest—not by any means an uncommon position for the Scottish nobility to take in these days of danger and uncertainty. He was twice married; first, to Catherine, second daughter of William, Lord Borthwick, by whom he had no issue; and second, to Margaret (or Elizabeth), daughter and heiress of John Campbell of West Loudoun, by whom he had five sons and a daughter. His second son, Andrew, was the ancestor of the Cuninghames of Corsehill, Baronets; his third son, Hugh, of the Cuninghames of Carlung; his fourth son, Robert, of the Cuninghames of Montgreenan; and the fifth, William, Bishop of Argyll, of the Marquis of Connyngame in Ireland.



Alexander, fifth Earl of Glencairn, was one of the chief promoters of the Reformation movement in Scotland. From his youth he had been indoctrinated in the cause. Not only, while yet he was Lord Kilmaurs, had he taken an active part, along with his father, in its furtherance, even to the extent of incurring the displeasure of the ruling powers in Scotland and the suspicion of those in England who had endeavoured to ensure his support by means of a substantial pension; he had even gone the length of composing a satirical poem against the order of the Grey Friars, who had made themselves odious by their persecution of George Buchanan. Whatever Lord Kilmaurs was, he was not a highly gifted poet; nevertheless his poem, "Ane Epistle direct fra the Holye Armitte of Allarit (Thomas Doughtie, the founder of the chapel of Our Lady of Loretto; formerly called Allarit, or Allaret) to his Brethern the Gray Frieres," lacks neither in pungency nor in terseness, and it so commended itself to John Knox that the Scottish Reformer printed it in his "History of the Reformation." Its spirit and style will be comprehended from the following extract:—

I, Thomas, hermit in Larite  
 Saint Francis' order do heartily greet,  
 Beseeching you with firm intent  
 To be walkryfe and diligent;  
 For these Lutherians, risen of new  
 Our order daily do pursue.  
 These smaiks (mean fellows) do set their haill intent,  
 To read the English New Testament.  
 They say we have them clean deceavit;  
 Therefore in haste they maun be stoppit!  
 Our state, "hypocrisie" they prize (account),  
 And us blasphemis on this wyse:—  
 Saying that we are heretikes,  
 And false, loud lying mastiff tykes,  
 Stout fishers with the Fiend's net,  
 The up-closers of Heaven's yett,  
 Cankered corrupters of the Creed,  
 Hemlock-sowers amongst good seed,  
 Kirk men that are to Christ unkent,  
 A sect that Satan's self has sent!

I dread this doctrine, if it last,  
Shall either gar us work or fast ;  
Therefore with speed we must provide,  
And not our profit overslide.

If Kilmaurs was not highly gifted as a poet, neither was he apparently much skilled in penmanship ; for, in forwarding one of his letters to Henry VIII., Sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador in Edinburgh, enclosed with it a copy, explaining that the letter, " being written with his own hand, is therefore not legible !" Sadler held him in high esteem. " In my poor opinion," he wrote to the English monarch, " there be few such Scots in Scotland, both for his wisdom and learning, and well dedicate to the truth of Christ's word and doctrine."

During the lifetime of his father, Lord Kilmaurs resided for some time in England, as a pledge for the Earl's loyalty to the English cause. With his father, however, he failed to respond to the English need in the expedition that the Earl of Lennox directed against the West of Scotland. When the fourth Earl died in 1547 he at once asserted himself as an enemy of the papal order, and he continued through life to be one of the staunchest friends that the Reformation movement had. When the Bishops in 1550 " made war against God " (Knox) " they apprehended Adam Wallace, a simple man without great learning, but one that was zealous in godliness and of an upright life," and accused him of having taken it upon himself to preach. " I know that I shall die," Wallace said boldly to his accusers, who were also his judges, " but be ye assured that my blood shall be required at your hands," whereupon Glencairn, addressing the Bishop of Orkney and others that sat by him, declared, " Take heed, all ye, my lords of the clergy. Here I protest for my part that I consent not to his death." The Earl's protest, however, was of no avail ; Wallace was " adjudged to the fire, which he sustained that same day, at afternoon, upon the Castlehill of Edinburgh." The same year Glencairn went to France in the train of Mary of Guise, the Queen-Regent.

Soon after the return of Knox to Scotland, in 1555, the reformer visited Kyle upon the invitation of Robert Campbell of Kinzeancleuch and the Laird of Bar, and proclaimed the principles of the Reformation not only in their houses but also in the houses of Carnell, Ochiltree, and Gadgirth, and in the town of Ayr. Glencairn sent for him to Findlayston, where he was then residing, where, after sermon, he dispensed the Sacrament to the Earl, the Countess, two of their sons, and other friends of the cause. In May of the following year, Glencairn persuaded the Earl Marischal and Henry Drummond to listen to Knox in Edinburgh, where "he continued in doctrine ten days." They were so well-contented with his preaching that they advised the Reformer to write the Queen Regent a letter that "might move her to hear the Word of God." This Knox did, and the Earl himself delivered the letter into the hands of the Queen-Dowager, in presence of James Beaton, the Bishop of Glasgow, to whom she turned and, in a mocking voice, remarked, "Please you, my lord, to read a pasquil"—a lampoon, or coarse satire. Shortly afterwards Knox returned to Geneva, whence he was pressed to return by Glencairn, the Lord of Lorne, Erskine of Dun, and Lord James Stuart. The tenour of this letter is instructive as showing the spirit and the piety that animated the signatories :—

Dearly Beloved in the Lord,—The Faithful that are of your acquaintance in these parts—thanks be unto God—are steadfast in the belief wherein ye left them, and have a Godly thirst day by day of your presence ; which, if the Spirit of God so permit, we heartily desire you, in the name of the Lord, that ye return again to these parts, where ye shall find all the Faithful that you left behind you, not only glad to hear your doctrine but ready to jeopard their lives and goods in the forward setting of the glory of God, as He will permit. And albeit the Magistrates in this country be as yet but in the state ye left them, yet we have no experience of any more cruelty than was

before. Rather we believe that God will augment His flock, because we see daily the Friars, enemies to Christ's evangel, in less estimation both with the Queen's Grace, and the rest of the nobility. This, in few words, is the mind of the Faithful being present, and others absent. Fare ye well in the Lord."

Knox, after conference with Calvin, resolved to return to Scotland, and setting out he reached Dieppe, where he received letters from other friends warning him of the danger in store for him. He accordingly wrote to the leaders of the reform party stating his difficulties; and these, Glencairn among them, subscribed a Bond, pledging themselves to "apply their whole power, substance, and their very lives, to maintain, set forward, and establish the most blessed Word of God, and His congregation," and renouncing "the congregation of Satan, with all the superstitions, abominations, and idolatry thereof." The time, however, was not judged fit by the Reformer for his return to Scotland, and, judging that the cause could best be promoted by his continued residence upon the Continent of Europe, he remained in France till the May of 1559.

When, in the beginning of that year, the Queen Regent issued a summons against the reformed preachers, the Earl of Glencairn, and his relative, Campbell of Loudoun, the Sheriff of Ayr, were sent to remonstrate with her. She met them with angry reproaches, but in spite of these they did their duty boldly and warned her of "the inconveniences that were to follow." Finding she could not browbeat them, the Queen Regent temporised and promised to take the matter into consideration, but while she was "considering" in the one direction and acting in the other, "the rascal multitude" at Perth destroyed the monasteries, and she advanced against the city. Word was sent in haste to the brethren in Cunningham and Kyle, and they gathered in the church of Craigie to hear the message and to determine what should be done. There were some there who

interposed difficulties and were for temporising; but Glencairn, standing forth, delivered a brief and emphatic utterance:—

“ Let every man serve his conscience. I will, by God’s grace, see my brethren in St. Johnston (Perth); yea, although never man should accompany me, I will go, if it were but with a pike on my shoulder; for I would rather die with that company than live after them.”

The company were inspired by these words, and hastily collecting a body of their followers, twelve hundred horse and as many foot, they came by forced marches to Perth and reached the city before the besieged had news of their coming. Lords Ochiltree and Boyd were among them, and Chalmers of Gadgirth. And the Queen Regent was effectually checkmated. Before retiring from the city Glencairn, with Argyll, Lord James Stuart, and others, subscribed a Bond in which they obliged themselves to “ spare neither labour, goods, substance, bodies, or lives,” in maintenance of the liberty of the whole congregation.

The Earl played a prominent part in the subsequent negotiations with the Queen Regent. With Argyll, Boyd, Ochiltree, and other supporters of the Protestant cause he met (1560) with the representatives of the other side at Preston. Their line of reasoning is worth noting. They made no attempt to coerce the faith of the Queen Regent and her friends. The Preachers, these urged, must cease, and the Mass must be maintained. Not so, was their reply—“ As we will compel your Grace to no religion, so can we not of conscience, for the pleasure of any earthly creature, put silence to God’s true messengers.” By this time Protestantism had asserted itself in Scotland, and the same year witnessed the accomplishment of the Reformation. In January of the following year the Earl subscribed the Book of Discipline in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and in

June, with the Earls of Arran and Argyll, he was entrusted with the congenial task of destroying "all places and monuments of idolatry" in the west, including the abbeys of Kilwinning, Failford, and Crossraguel, and the monasteries at Ayr, which were all either ruthlessly demolished, or, as in the case of Crossraguel, dismantled and left unserviceable.

Glencairn remained unbending in his attachment to the principles of the Reformation after the arrival of Queen Mary in Scotland in 1561. While Argyll and Lord James Stuart were prepared to tolerate her papal practices, he continued consistently hostile to them. Knox was not long in foreseeing trouble with the young Queen, and as the result of the impetus given to Popery by her attachment to that faith, and at his instigation the Earl, with the Barons and gentlemen of the district, met at Ayr, where they signed a covenant to defend the Protestant religion. The forthcoming marriage of Mary with Darnley occasioned a good deal of hostility to the union, and the Earl shared in it. In this connection, however, he did not, like Argyll and Moray, carry his antagonism to the point of rising in arms against it; on the contrary, he made the best of circumstances, attended the marriage ceremony, and was in attendance on the King at the banquet subsequent to it. Later, however, he seems to have changed his mind, for he was with the insurgent lords at Ayr (15th August, 1565), and he accompanied Moray when, on the last day of the same month, he entered Edinburgh at the head of six hundred men—only to leave the city again the following night. For having shared in this abortive enterprise, he was summoned to appear before the Queen in six days, but he failed to respond to the royal citation and, December 1, was declared to have been guilty of *lese majesty*. To be out of the way he passed to Berwick, but he did not remain long there, and he was back again in Edinburgh at the time of the murder of Rizzio, March 9, 1566. Neither directly nor indirectly had he any hand in that event; on the



contrary, when Mary, accompanied by Darnley and six or seven followers, left Edinburgh two days after the tragedy, and fled to Dunbar, in the hope of being able to muster a force strong enough to punish the assassins of the favourite, Glencairn was among those who responded to her call.

The Earl has been represented as having favoured the marriage of the Queen with Bothwell; as a matter of fact, he was strongly hostile to it, and from that time forward he became one of the most unrelenting opponents of the Queen, refusing point blank to sign the bond that pledged its subscribers to support and defend at all hazards the ill-assorted pair, and adhibiting his name to that which bound its signatories to defend the young Prince from the murderers of his father. He held high command in the army of the insurgents under the Earl of Moray, and when, before the battle of Carberry Hill (June 15, 1567) the French ambassador came into the camp to offer pardon to all those who had taken up arms against their Queen on condition that they would disperse, Glencairn told him that "they came not in arms to crave pardon for any offence, but rather to give pardon to such as had offended." As the result of the meeting, Mary surrendered to the Confederates under Moray, and took her last farewell of Bothwell. The Queen was committed to Lochleven; and a few days later, Glencairn, returning to Edinburgh with his own personal followers, made an attack on the royal chapel at Holyrood, wherein Mary had been in the habit of hearing Mass, demolished the altar, and destroyed the ornaments and the images. This exhibition of zeal found enthusiastic approval from the Kirk, but it failed to commend itself to the nobility who were hostile to the Queen. When James VI. was crowned at Stirling the following July, the Earl carried the Sword of State. In May, 1568, Mary made her escape from Lochleven. Glencairn, when the tidings were brought to him, marshalled his followers with great rapidity, and at the battle of Langside he commanded one of the divisions,

and bore himself with great bravery in the short three-quarters of an hour struggle that finally settled the claim of the unfortunate Mary to be Queen of Scotland.

After Langside the Earl was appointed a Lieutenant of the West of Scotland, Lord Semple being the other. He was in Stirling in 1571 when Lennox was shot, and was taken prisoner, but in a sally organised by Captain Thomas Crawford, a son of Lawrence Crawford of Kilbirnie and his wife, Helen, daughter of Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudoun, he escaped. On Knox's death the same year, he was nominated along with Morton for the Regency, but the latter had a considerable majority of votes.

Throughout his life Glencairn was a fast friend of John Knox. He was present in support of the Reformer at one of the famous interviews that he had with the Queen, 1563. Mary at an earlier interview had been "gart greet" by Knox, and she was determined, if possible, by the aid of the Privy Council, to have him placed within her power and at her disposal. Knox, who was accused of unlawfully convocating the lieges, defended himself with great courage, and he recalled to Lethington, the Secretary, and the ablest of his opponents, how serviceable he had been in like manner aforetime. "Before this," he said, "no man laid it to my charge as a crime." "Then was then, and now is now," retorted Lethington. It was at this interview, which resulted in the discharge of the reformer, that Knox made his famous declaration in reply to the taunt of one of the Lords, that "he was not now in the pulpit" — "I am in the place where I am demanded of conscience to speak the truth, and therefore the truth I speak, impugn it who list." Glencairn voted for his acquittal. When Knox was on his deathbed the Earl was one of his most frequent visitors.

The Earl died November 23, 1574. By his first wife, Lady Johanna Hamilton, youngest daughter of James, first Earl of Arran, he had two sons: William, who succeeded him in the peerage, and James, who became

prior of Lesmahagow, and a daughter, Lady Margaret, who was married to John Wallace of Craigie. He divorced his first wife, and was married a second time to Janet, daughter of Sir John Cuninghame of Caprington, by whom he had a son, Alexander, Commendator of Kilwinning, who married Jean Blair and was ancestor of the Cuninghames of Montgreenan; and a daughter, Lady Janet, married, first, to Archibald, fifth Earl of Argyll, and afterwards to Sir Humphrey Colquhoun of Luss.

The character of the fifth Earl will be variously estimated according to the standpoint from which one may view it. There are some who will see in him the reformer, others the bigot, others the iconoclast, but from any point of vision he was a strong, resolute, forceful man, independent and courageous. It was from conviction that he took the side of the Reformation, and having done so, having put his hand to the plough, he neither temporised nor looked back. When the cause was struggling he was there. When the reformers were threatened with pains and penalties by the Queen Regent of Scotland, he was at their side. When they stood in need of help in Perth, he responded with alacrity to their call. In the Council Chamber he was as firm, as bold, as when in the field he marched or rode with the men of Kilmaurs behind him. In the intrigues of the Scottish Court at a period when there was danger involved all round, he never shirked his responsibility. He was sufficiently liberal to tell Mary of Guise that he had no mind to interfere with her in the exercise of her faith, and sufficiently strong to dare her to interfere with him in the exercise of his. He stood by Knox in his days of travail and enduring, as well as in the hour of his ascendancy. That he and other men, like-minded with himself, destroyed the fair fanes of the Papacy remains occasion for sorrow to all Scots who would fain have seen these stately monuments of the olden faith preserved and maintained in fabric until this hour, but it must not be forgotten that Glencairn and his fellow-reformers

were engaged in a stern work, and that they reflected nothing more than the predominant spirit of the times. For the age in which he lived, he walked uncommonly straight. His life, his morals, his conversation were all unimpeachable. Men called him "the good Earl," than which there could be no higher tribute to his character; for it is not given to any period to call men "good" without substantial reason for it. Such was the fifth Earl then, one of the most notable figures of a testing and a trying time.

In the life of William, the sixth Earl, who died before 1581, there is nothing of general interest to record. He married Janet, daughter of Gordon of Lochinvar, by whom he had two sons and four daughters. His eldest son, and successor, James, the seventh Earl, was an active participant in the feuds of the period. On November 19, 1591, he was ordained to find caution to the extent of £20,000 within eight days, "or else within the same space pass and enter his person in ward, benorth the waters of Erne, and about the burgh of Perth, and There remain and keep ward, and in noways transcend the said bounds aye and until he be freed and relieved by his Majesty, under the pain of rebellion; and if he should fail, to denounce him as rebel." Five days later he was again required to pass into ward for contemptuously remaining at the horn, and for non-fulfilment of a decret passed by the Lords of the Council and Session "betwixt the said Earl and Dame Annabill Murray, Countess of Mar," and charged to render and deliver up his houses of "Kilmarannock, Finlaystoun, Stevenstoun, Kilmaweris, and Glencairne" to the official executor of the Court. On December 15, the same year, he was charged to return a bond for £20,000 "under pain of rebellion." What the specific offences involved, and what the nature of the dispute with the Countess of Mar, is not mentioned in the criminal records. It is evident, however, from the amount of the bond demanded that they must have been of a serious character, and the sharpness of the dealing with him is one of many proofs

that King James had begun to bestir himself seriously to put an end to the feuds that were at the time so common in Scotland. Whether the Earl responded to the orders of the King and his officers is also left in doubt. If he did, he apparently profited but little from the lesson, for in January, 1596, he was again ordained to be denounced rebel for not appearing before the King and Council "touching the removing of the feud and controversy standing betwixt him and Robert, Master of Eglintoun and his friends." On the 29th of the same month, James Cuninghame, heir apparent of Glengarnock, was ordained to be denounced for not "appearing personally" before the King and Council regarding the feud between him and Sir Patrick Houston of that ilk, and his friends.

There is an interesting entry, bearing on the slaughter of the Earl of Eglinton by the Cuninghames under date February 12, the same year :—

"On the complaint of the Countess of Eglintoun (Dame Helen Kennedy), Hugh, Earl of Eglintoun, only lawful son of the deceased Hugh, Earl of Eglintoun, his tutor, and the kin and friends of the late Earl—'That where the said Earl being most shamefully and cruelly slain by John Cuninghame of Ross, brother to James, Earl of Glencairn, Alexander Cuninghame, called of Polquhene, his servant, Alexander Cuninghame of Aikatt, William Cuninghame his brother, Patrick Cuninghame in Bordland, John and David Maxwell, brothers to Patrick Maxwell of Newark, and John Ryburne, upon set purpose, provision and forethought felony, the said complainers pursued them for the same slaughter, criminally, before the Justice and his deputes; and they, taking the crime upon them, absented themselves from trial, and were therefore denounced and registered at the horn; whereat they remained "maist contempnandlie" divers years thereafter, till now of late, as the said complainers are informed, that the said persons have

purchased a remission or respite for the said slaughter, whereby they intend to take away the said complainers' lawful pursuit, so that instead of justice, which they (the complainers) ever looked for, conform to his Majesty's solemn vow and promise made to that effect, they are now moved to lament to his highness the want of justice, through the said respite or remission.' They state further that there has been 'no satisfaction made to the said complainers for the said slaughter.'—Robert, Master of Eglinton, having appeared for the complainers, and the Earl of Glencairn and William Cuninghame of Caprington for the defenders, the King and Council remitted the matter to be decided before the Justice or his deputies as according to law."

The remission does not seem to have been reversed. In 1603 John Johnstoun of Lochhouse, who had slain John Cuninghame, servant to the Earl of Glencairn, within the burgh of Edinburgh, was sentenced "to be tane to ane scaffold at the mercat-croce of Edinburgh, and thair his head to be strukin fra his body."

The Earl apparently abated his zeal in the prosecution of the feudal enterprises in which he had been so conspicuously engaged, for some years, but the old animosity between the Cuninghames and the Montgomeries had not been extinguished—it had only gone into enforced rest—and it broke out again in 1606 in Perth immediately before the meeting of the Scots Parliament, when the Earl of Glencairn and the Master of Wintoun, a member of the Seton family, by that time allied with the Montgomeries by the marriage of the first Earl of Winton with Lady Margaret Montgomerie, eldest daughter of Hugh, third Earl of Eglinton, came into open conflict on the streets of the city. The occurrence evoked a storm and a highly practical remonstrance from the King, which he conveyed in a letter to the Privy Council. The broil, he says, "did offend us much, specially in view of the circumstances of time and place, when as



(beside the great hazard of bringing many of the nobility then present in the town to have entered in blood with others and thereby to have revived that mortified monstre of Deadly Feud), it was a ready way to have stayed the progress of that session of Parliament to the great prejudice and hurt of the Estate, and to the hindrance of all our services there." His Majesty desired to know the occasion of the misdemeanour, who was responsible for it, and who actually began it, also whether it was deliberate or accidental; and he instructed the taking of criminal proceedings in the matter, and in the meantime to suspend all suits against other parties instituted by the offenders, until justice should be done. King James recognised, at the same time, the necessity of arresting the feud at its source, and on his instructions the Privy Council dealt with the Earls of Glencairn and Eglinton, and with Lord Sempill, called these noblemen before them, and endeavoured to persuade them to pledge themselves to have done with the feud, now and for ever :—

“ The Earl of Glencairn pretended that there was a quarrel betwixt him and Eglinton, and that a submission was unnecessary; and in the end indirectly refused to submit, because the submission imported against him of the slaughter of the late Earl of Eglinton, which he would never take upon him; but offers himself ready to take trial of the laws for that slaughter; which trial, on his part, ought to precede the submission. We remembered him of a submission subscribed by himself in this same manner, agreeable in every word to that which was now desired, when this matter was last in hands afore the Council, in February, 1604. But he, standing upon his innocence of that slaughter, refused to submit. Eglinton made no refusal, but, pretending some excuse upon the shortness of the warning, he only craved a continuation to be advised with his friends, because this was the first time that ever he was charged in this matter, for His

Majesty ; and the Lord Sempill very freely, for your Majesty's satisfaction and obedience, without any ceremony, offered to submit. We have granted unto Eglinton, with his own consent, the 20th day of November next, to be advised with his friends, and to come provided in this matter. We have no assurance of the Earl of Glencairn's obedience, but we hope that he will conform himself to your Majesty's pleasure; and the Lord Sempill will be obedient."

There is no available record of further proceedings, and whether Glencairn eventually gave the submission desired ; but, whether he did or not, the " deadly feud " in North Ayrshire had closed, and " the mortified monster " never again reared its head. As for Glencairn, he appears from that time until his death, which took place after June, 1614—the exact date is unknown—to have lived in comparative retirement. The glimpses that we have into his life story indicate that he was of the most assertive order of the Ayrshire feudalists, who preferred to settle their differences on the soil to fighting them out in the more trying and exhausting fashion offered by the Law Courts. In this respect he may not inaptly be denominated the last of the Ayrshire feudalists, and with him closed an era of long pronounced and embittered strife that kept the countryside in fear and apprehension, and in which many valuable lives were sacrificed to ill-regulated ambition and love of ascendancy.

By his first wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, the seventh Earl had one son (his successor) and six daughters. The eldest of these, Lady Jean, is said by the Ballantyne Ms. to have been contracted in marriage to the Earl of Cassillis. The Earl refused to implement the contract, and Lady Jean died the same day. The fourth daughter, Lady Anne, was married to James, second Marquis of Hamilton, and she was said to have had an uncommon sway over the minds of her two sons, successively Dukes of

Hamilton, in the reign of Charles I., with important political results. The Earl married, secondly, a sister of James, Earl of Carlisle, by whom he had no issue.

William, the eighth Earl, who died in 1631, married Lady Janet Ker, daughter of Mark, first Earl of Lothian, by whom he had three sons and five daughters. Historically his life was uneventful. On his death he was succeeded by his son William, the ninth Earl, a man who in a notable degree illustrated in his public life the stronger and more assertive characteristics of his race.

The ninth Earl came upon the scene of public life at one of the many trying periods that Scotland had to negotiate in her experience of the later Stuarts. Charles I. was at war with his Parliament in England, the Scottish Presbyterians had lost faith in him, and yet he had many friends in Scotland, well enough affected towards Presbytery, who were King's men as well as men of the Kirk. The Earl was one of these—he was a King's man—and Baillie describes him as having in 1639 “deserted his country.” He associated himself none the less with the great body of the Scottish nobility who, irrespective of their ecclesiastical views, banded themselves together to defend their country against the danger of invasion by the independent party in England. Ayrshire constituted a committee of war, which included the Earl of Loudoun, the Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, the Earl of Glencairn, the Earl of Cassillis, the Earl of Dumfries, Lord Montgomerie, Lord Boyd, Lord Cathcart, Lord Rosse, Lord Bargany, and Lord Cochrane. Glencairn was a Privy Councillor and a Commissioner of the Treasury in 1641; and two years later, obviously “in a strait betwixt two,” his loyalty to the King and his determination to stand well with the Kirk, he compounded for his refusal to support the project of sending an army to support the English Parliament by supporting the General Assembly in refusing to extend any active assistance to the King. As a King's man he was at Kilsyth in 1645 when Montrose with 4000 men almost annihilated the Covenanting army of 7000 men

under General Baillie ; and the following year he was appointed by the Parliament Lord Justice General of Scotland, an office of which he was deprived in 1648 because he had entered into the "engagement" for the rescue of the King from the English Parliament. At that time he is described by Baillie as having been an able speaker and as holding moderate views. His royalist sympathies, hardened by opposition, brought him further trouble in 1649, when Parliament annulled his patent of Earldom. Two years later he was a member of the Committee of Estates.

The execution of Charles I., January 30, 1649, and the subsequent invasion of Scotland, in 1653, by Cromwell, brought Glencairn into the field for Charles II. at a time when the hopes of the Stuart cause were but scantily based. Scotland was rent asunder by contending factions. The Presbyterians were at variance among themselves, and, read in the light of what actually eventuated, there was no chance whatever for the "restoration" of the royal house. The Earl, however, was a man of resolve, and he threw himself into the hopeless struggle with great ardour. From Charles II. he received a commission to command the King's forces in Scotland, and in August he left Finlayston, where he was then resident, for Loch Earn, where he was joined by several Highland chiefs, and by the Macdonald clan, and for a time managed to make headway against Monck. The first conflict with the enemy, under Colonel Kidd, the governor of Stirling, took place at Aberfoyle, and resulted in the defeat of the enemy with a loss of about an hundred and twenty. "No prisoners were taken." The victory brought increased support to the royal arms ; Glengarry with three hundred "very pretty men," Lochiel with four hundred Lochaber men, the Earl of Athole with two hundred horse and twelve hundred footmen, and other smaller levies. There was great enthusiasm, but it was short-lived. Long delays, weary marchings, exposure to the weather in the open field, the jealousies of the chiefs, dissensions

and desertions, broke the spirit of the expedition, and great disheartenment ensued when General Morgan, the Commonwealth General at Aberdeen, met the Highlanders at Cromar and defeated them. General Middleton was sent north to supersede Glencairn in the command, and the latter, loyally accepting the situation, and determined to make the best of circumstances which he could not otherwise control, for the sake of the common cause, he went along the lines and urged the soldiers to discipline and to duty ; but “ those who saw this could easily perceive how very unsatisfied the soldiers were, by their looks and their countenance ; for several, both officers and soldiers, shed tears and vowed that they would serve with their old general in any corner of the world.”

The royalist army was at this time lying near Dornoch, and here occurred an incident that illustrates Glencairn's character in a striking fashion. At dinner with Middleton he called for a glass of wine, and, addressing the new commander, said—“ My Lord General, you see what a gallant army these worthy gentlemen here present and I have gathered together, at a time when it was hardly to be expected that any number durst meet together ; these men have come out to serve his Majesty at the hazard of their lives and of all that is dear to them.” On this Sir George Munro started up from his seat, and addressing Glencairn, said —“ By God, my lord, the men you speak of are nothing but a number of thieves and robbers, and ere long I will bring another sort of men to the field.” “ You, sir,” retorted Glencairn, “ are a base liar, for they are neither thieves nor robbers, but gallant gentlemen and good soldiers.” Through the exertions of General Middleton peace and harmony were for the moment restored, but the same night, when Glencairn was enjoying a dance at the house of the Laird of Deuchrie, Sir George Munro's brother waited upon him to arrange a hostile meeting. Munro danced with the rest, and a few moments' conversation sufficed to arrange the duel,

which took place the following morning at daylight without anybody in the house being aware of it. Glencairn was accompanied by his servant alone ; on the other side were the two Munros.

“ They were both well mounted. Each of the parties was to use one pistol, after discharging of which they were to decide the quarrel with broadswords. Their pistols were fired without doing any execution, and they made up to each other with their broadswords drawn. After a few passes his lordship had the good fortune to give Sir George a stroke on the bridle hand, whereupon Sir George cried out to his lordship, and he hoped he would allow him to fight on foot. ‘ You base carle, I will show you that I can match you either on foot or horseback.’ Then they both quitted their horses and furiously attacked each other on foot. At the very first bout the noble earl gave him so sore a stroke on the brow, about an inch above his eyes, that he could not see for the blood that issued from the wound. His lordship was then just going to thrust him through the body, but his man, John White, forced up his sword, saying—‘ You have had enough of him, my lord, you have got the better of him.’ His lordship was very angry with John, and in a great passion gave him a blow over the shoulder. He then took horse and came back to his quarters. Munro came straight away to the headquarters, and his brother had much ado to get him conveyed there, by reason of the bleeding, both of his hand and head.”

Middleton placed the Earl of Glencairn under arrest in his quarters. Two other officers took sides over the same business, and one of them, who had championed the cause of the Earl, was killed. Glencairn saw to his funeral, and, a few days later, marched for the south country with his own troop of men, about an hundred strong. He was joined by other reinforcements, but he realised that the royal cause was for the time being



hopeless. So, when his followers bade him lead them whithersoever he willed, he told them plainly that the King's cause was lost, and that he had resolved to capitulate, and offered to make terms for as many as cared to adhere to him and to place their interests in his hands. The negotiations lasted for about a month. Monck showed some aversion to coming to terms, and Glencairn risked the somewhat hazardous step of an overt act of warfare upon a party of the Commonwealth forces, which not only forced Monck's hand but enabled the Earl to secure excellent terms for himself and his friends. "This happened upon the 4th day of September, 1654. The Earl of Glencairn that same night crossed the water, and came to his own house of Finlayston." Shortly afterwards he was reported as "trinketing in England as well as at home," and, betrayed by his agent, Major Borthwick, he was arrested by Monck's orders in December, 1655, and imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle. He was exempted from Cromwell's act of "grace and pardon," and would in all probability have lost his life but for the interposition of James Sharp, then a Presbyterian minister, afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews. In 1656 his forfeiture of estates was discharged by capitulation. He was one of the peers summoned to the Convention in 1659, after Cromwell's death, he urged Monck to declare for a free Parliament, and he was one of the Scotch Commissioners to London.

With the Restoration the Earl's fortunes speedily revived. Charles II. could do no less than remember the services he had rendered to his cause in days that were dark for it, and all that Glencairn had done and suffered for it, and he not only created him a Privy Councillor and High Sheriff of Ayr, but appointed him in 1661 Lord Chancellor of Scotland. He had the year before been made Chancellor of the University of Glasgow. He does not appear to have been of particularly strong ecclesiastical views, for while he escorted Fairfoul, the new Bishop, to Glasgow, he was on terms of warm friendship with Baillie, who calls him "my noble kind

scholar." In promoting the wellbeing of the college he took an active interest. He had no sympathy with the policy of the Duke of Lauderdale in his efforts to secure the absolute power of the Crown in Church and State, which eventually brought about the abortive rising in the west of Scotland in 1666 ; and he was a party in the plot with Middleton, by that time a King's Commissioner, to oust him from office. His general moderation in Church matters brought him into conflict with Archbishop Sharp, who complained of his remissness at Court, and who obtained in 1664 letters from the King to the Privy Council giving the Primate precedence in the Council over the Lord Chancellor. The vexation caused by this slight brought on his death at Belton, in Haddingtonshire, May 30, 1664. He was buried in the south-east aisle of St. Giles, Edinburgh, July 28, his funeral sermon being preached by Burnet, the Archbishop of Glasgow.

The Earl was twice married ; first, to Lady Anne Ogilvie, daughter of James, first Earl of Findlater, by whom he had four sons, two of whom, as Lords of Kilmaurs, predeceased him, and two more were in succession Earls of Glencairn. He had also three daughters that were married, Lady Jean to the Earl of Kilmarnock, Lady Margaret to Lord Bargany, and Lady Elizabeth to William Hamilton of Osbistoun. He married, secondly, Lady Margaret Montgomerie, daughter of the Earl of Eglinton, by whom he had no issue.

The ninth Earl appears to have steered a very straight course for the time in which he lived. He was a man of moderate views, nor ever a reckless partisan of the Stuarts. While he did what he could to bring back the dynasty before the time had come, he was frank to recognise that their cause was too hopeless to be fought for ; and while he was a high Minister of the Crown, he resisted the efforts of the creatures of Charles II. to make the King supreme in all matters sacred and secular. Religiously he was regarded by the Covenanters as a

Laodicean, neither cold nor hot, but this seems to imply little more than that he had a larger share of religious liberalism than the most of his contemporaries. His courage was indisputable, and he bore the slings and taunts of misfortune, and the trials of varied fortunes with considerable equanimity. Wounded pride, it is true, killed him in the end, but it need be no occasion for wonder that he was deeply hurt by the ingratitude of a monarch for whom he had sacrificed so much. Glencairn was only one of many whom Charles II. treated cavalierly who had deserved better at his hands.

Alexander, tenth Earl of Glencairn, does not seem to have played any conspicuous part in the history of his period, which was that of the struggle for ascendancy between the King and the Episcopal party on the one hand, and the Church of Scotland on the other. By his wife, Nicholas, eldest sister and co-heiress of Sir William Stewart of Kirkhill, he had an only daughter, Lady Margaret, who was married to John, fifth Earl of Lauderdale, whose son James, Lord Maitland, had an only child, Jean, who was married to Sir James Fergusson of Kilkerran, and who was mother of Sir Adam Fergusson, who became a claimant for the honours of Glencairn on the death of the fifteenth Earl—a claim which he failed to substantiate to the satisfaction of the Court. On his death, which took place in 1670, he was succeeded by his brother John, eleventh Earl, who married Lady Jean Erskine, daughter of John, ninth Earl of Mar, by whom he had an only son, his successor.

The eleventh Earl was a strong partisan, on the royalist side, in the strife that the King and his counsellors, in Church and State, were waging with the Covenanters. He was a member of the Commission appointed in 1677 for putting the law in force against conventicles "and other disorders," and was the special Commissioner for the counties of Ayr and Renfrew. In this capacity it was his business to deal with those persons who absented themselves from public ordinances and who kept conventicles, to see that the fines were

paid by the delinquents, to take care that the Sheriff and the other Magistrates did their duty, and to exact bonds that obliged those who signed them to "frequent ordinances in their parish church, and not go to house or field conventicles at any time hereafter, nor reset, supply, or commune with any intercommuned persons." The attempt to exact this bond was bitterly resented by the nobles and the gentry of the county as a body; and it was in consequence of the strong opposition which he offered to it that the Earl of Loudoun was compelled to accept voluntary exile in Leyden, where he died. The failure of Glencairn to put the law in force brought further instructions from the Council to the Earl, and with him the Earl of Dundonald and Lord Rosse, to be more insistent in their zeal to quell the "rebels." They were reminded that Ayr and Renfrew were "the most considerable seminaries of rebellion in this Kingdom," and that in spite of the fact that the King had been mightily indulgent and clement towards them, they had so wearied out the royal patience that, unless they ceased from their rebellious courses, it would be necessary to take strong measures to teach them their duty. The nobles and gentry met again to discuss the situation, and replied that it was not in their power to quiet the disorders. Again the King formulated his indignation and his resolve to prevail. The "great and insufferable insolences" of Ayrshire he could not abide, the preaching of treasonable doctrines against his person, and the inciting of his subjects to open rebellion; and therefore he intimated his resolve to let loose the Highland Host upon the county.

Glencairn lent himself to the propagation of the royal purpose. He seems to have stood almost alone among the noblemen of the shire in approving the infamy of the invasion by the Highland Host, and he was the only Ayrshire noble who joined in the procedure against the Earl of Cassillis, whose outspoken condemnation of the royal policy and action had involved him in rigorous dealing at the hands of the State. He signed

the report of the Committee of Council that proceeded against Cassillis, which committee "humbly desire his Majesty to take notice how the Earl does calumniate and reproach them, as if their proceedings were illegal and unwarrantable, which they humbly conceive is a crime of a very high nature for any private subject to attempt, which they in all humility subject to his Majesty's consideration." It would have been little occasion for surprise had the King taken drastic measures against Cassillis, but apparently the invasion of the Highland Host had left Ayrshire more rebellious than ever, and the royal counsellors thought better of it than push matters to an extreme against the great lord of Carrick. Glencairn remained true to the royal cause to the end, and incurred in a high degree the enmity and the ill-will of the people of Ayrshire for his confirmed hostility to the Covenanting cause.

It was largely with the Glencairn family as with almost every one of the ancient historic families of Scotland, with the union of the Parliaments they ceased to be conspicuous in the national life. So long as there was a Scots Parliament in Edinburgh, the ancient metropolis was the seat and centre of the nation's life; when the Scots Parliament ceased, there came a sense in which "Ichabod" might appropriately have been written across "Scotia's darling seat." There is comparatively little to tell of the twelfth and thirteenth Earls. The former, William, who succeeded his father in 1703, married Lady Henrietta Stewart, daughter of Alexander, third Earl of Galloway, by whom he had eight sons, all of whom, save the second, died in infancy, or were unmarried, and two daughters. He died in 1734. The latter, also William, married the eldest daughter and heiress of Hugh Macguire of Drumdow, in Ayrshire, by whom he had four sons and two daughters. His eldest son, William, Lord Kilmaurs, predeceased him, unmarried, in 1768; the second and third were in succession Earls of Glencairn; the fourth died young. The elder daughter, Lady Henrietta, married Sir Alexander

Don of Newton, and had issue; the younger, Lady Elizabeth, died unmarried. The thirteenth Earl died in 1775.

The marriage of the thirteenth Earl is associated with an episode in family history that illustrates how true it is that truth is stranger than fiction. Early in the year 1725 there returned to Ayr, after a long sojourn in India, "Governor Macrae," who, while yet young, had left the house of his mother, a poor washerwoman in the county town, to pursue his fortune upon the sea, and beyond it. Like many another Scot who has attained to eminence in the world, James Macrae was of lowly origin, but, as events proved, this did not deter him from evincing his worth of character and of manhood. As the years went on he rose to the position of a captain in the nautical service of the East India Company, and a desperate and gallant encounter that he waged with two heavily armed and manned pirate ships in a bay on the seaboard of Madagascar so commended him to the directors that they advanced him to a position of importance on shore. By the exercise of his gifts and native talent, and by shrewd administration and capacity to formulate and carry out schemes of reform, he ultimately became Governor of the Madras Presidency, and amassed a fortune, great for those days, of over a hundred thousand pounds. On his return to Ayr he sought out and found a married cousin, Isabella Gairdner, the wife of Hugh M'Guire, a carpenter, and a famous fiddler at kirns and at weddings. The fiddler's musical gifts did not always avail to keep the wolf from the door; and the story is told of his wife being under the necessity of borrowing a loaf from a neighbour to stay the hungry cravings of one of her daughters who afterwards became the Countess of Glencairn. With the Nabob's homecoming fortune smiled on the MacGuires, and the elated father and mother demonstrated their joy by sending out for a new loaf and a bottle of brandy, digging a cavity in the loaf and filling it up with brandy and sugar, which they supped out with spoons.



The Governor dealt handsomely with the family. He had the children educated. He bought the estate of Drumdow and installed MacGuire in it as laird. For one of the daughters, Macrae MacGuire by name, who appears to have been born after his return home, and to whom had been given his own surname by way of a Christian name, he seems to have had a special affection. The girls did honour to the advantages that had come their way. One, Macrae, was married to Charles Dalrymple, afterwards Sheriff Clerk of Ayr, and "of Orangefield" in virtue of a disposition and deed of entail which was the Nabob's gift to his favourite when she entered the happy bonds of matrimony. Another, Margaret, became the wife of Mr. Charles Erskine of Barjarg, who became one of the Lords of Session, first under the title of Lord Barjarg, and afterwards of Alva, which paternal estate of the Erskines it is believed his lordship was able to buy with the "portion" which he obtained with his wife from the generous ex-Governor of the Madras Presidency. And a third, Isabella Gairdner, became the Countess of Glencairn.

The marriage took place on 16th August, 1744. The Governor, who took a great interest in it, gave Isabella as her tocher the barony of Ochiltree, which he had purchased for £25,000, and diamonds to the value of £45,000; or, according to another report, the money that was applied to the purchase of the estate of Kilmarnock. The marriage did not prove to be a particularly happy one. The Earl is said to have reflected on the lowly origin of his wife in such a fashion as to encourage his infant son to use offensive epithets towards his mother; but probably rumour in this particular direction may have much magnified the offending. Glencairn, at all events, was not inclined to submit to any taunting allusions to his wife's family, and it is said that on one occasion, when the Earl of Cassillis reminded him that he had wedded a fiddler's daughter, he retorted with the observation that one of his father-in-law's favourite tunes was "The Gipsies

cam' to Lord Cassillis' Yett," which was equivalent to reminding the Carrick Earl that, according to the tradition, one of the Countesses of the Kennedy family had eloped with the gipsy chief, Johnny Faa. It is not difficult, however, to believe that the tales regarding Glencairn's treatment of his wife grew in the telling, even as the story of the Countess of Cassillis' elopement with Johnny Faa did in its own day; for, as is well known now, the famous ballad, in its application to the Cassillis family, is utterly devoid of solid foundation.

It was in 1764, during the time of the thirteenth Earl, that the induction of the Rev. Mr. Lindsay to the Parish Church of Kilmarnock was effected against the will of the people. In his poem of "The Ordination," composed on the settlement of the Rev. Mr. Mackinlay in Kilmarnock in 1786, Burns says :—

"Curst Common Sense, that imp o' hell,  
Cam' in wi' Maggie Lauder,"

and explains in a note that the allusion was to a "scoffing ballad which was made on the admission of the late reverend and worthy Mr. Lindsay to the Laigh Kirk." The Earl of Glencairn was patron of the church, and it was generally believed that Mr. Lindsay obtained the presentation through the influence of his wife, Margaret Lauder, who had formerly been housekeeper in the Earl's family. The attempted induction provoked a riot. The mob broke into the church, stones and dirt were thrown, and the officiating minister was unable to proceed; and the patron and the ministers in attendance were compelled to retire for shelter to a house in the neighbourhood. Ten of the rioters had to appear before the Circuit Court at Ayr. Three of them were found guilty, and were sentenced to be imprisoned for a month, and whipped through the streets of Ayr, and were ordained to find caution for keeping the peace for a year—all things considered, a pretty severe sentence. The scoffing ballad has in its time been attributed to two individuals, the one a

shoemaker named Hunter, the other a legal practitioner named Tannahill. It is not altogether without merit. The John M'Crone who figures in the opening line was valet to the Earl of Glencairn; "Halket" was the minister of Fenwick; "Mr. Brown," the minister of Kilbirnie; "Lambert," gardener to Mr. Paterson, the Town Clerk; "Lindsay" was the presentee himself. The ballad is subjoined:—

"Poor John M'Crone has ta'en the road,  
And sair he did his auld beast goad  
To fetch in time his noble load :  
Good people, hear my ditty.

"Auld Orangefield, Dalrymple called,  
Frae Finlayston or some sic fauld,  
To quell the mob, now grown sae bauld :  
Good people, hear my ditty.

"But some folk had it in their heid  
His lordship would mak' nae sic speed  
If Maggie Lauder had been deid :  
Good people, hear my ditty.

"This as it may I canna tell,  
Glencairn, he kens it best himsel',  
His reason thus the kirk to fill :  
Good people, hear my ditty.

"For through the windows stanes did reel  
Till Halket said it was the Deil,  
And of his brethren took fareweel :  
Good people, hear my ditty.

"Mr. Brown was praying, 's I suppose,  
Ane cam' sae very near his nose—  
The day's sae dark we maun it close :  
Good people, hear my ditty.

"Tailor Steven, the precentor there,  
Got his wig pu'd oot, hair by hair,  
Until they made his headpiece bare :  
Good people, hear my ditty.

"John Wyllie, wha lived in New Street,  
It seems was that day scant o' meat,  
He cam' to click his dinner sweet :  
Good people, hear my ditty.

“ Bailie Bapps, he got a prog  
Oot owre the head wi’ Lambert’s dog,  
Which laid him senseless as a log :  
Good people, hear my ditty.

“ Though meek and gentle Lindsay was,  
And had at heart the good old cause,  
Yet nought could make the rabble pause :  
Good people, hear my ditty.

“ Their fury rose to sic a height  
He dared not pass in town the night,  
But aff to Irvine took his flight :  
Good people, hear my ditty.

“ Followed wi’ hisses, yells, and groans,  
Wi’ missiles struck, even dirt and stones,  
While he their wicked rage bemoans :  
Good people, hear my ditty.

“ And took a house in that quiet place  
Till ance their madness and disgrace  
Would yield to better sense and grace :  
Good people, hear my ditty.”

James, fourteenth Earl of Glencairn, was born in 1749, and succeeded to the Earldom on the death of his father in 1775. In 1778 he was Captain of a company of the West Fencible regiment. In 1780 he was chosen one of the sixteen Representative Peers for Scotland. He owes his place in Scottish regard to the friendship that he manifested for Robert Burns, to whom he was introduced by his cousin-german, Mr. Dalrymple of Orangefield, soon after the publication of the Kilmarnock edition of Burns’ “ Poems,” to which his attention had been drawn by his factor, Mr. Dalziel. He at once evinced a deep interest in the poet, whom he introduced to William Creech, the publisher, and Creech agreed to publish the new edition of the “ Poems.” In a letter to John Hamilton, the Ayr banker, of December 13, 1786, Burns refers to him as “ a man whose worth and brotherly kindness to me I shall remember when time shall be no more. By his interest,” he adds, “ it is

passed in the 'Caledonian Hunt,' and entered in their books, that they are to take each a copy of the second edition, for which they are to pay one guinea." In token of his gratitude, the poet the following year wrote to the Earl to say that he had tried to obtain a profile or picture of him that he might write under it the stanzas which he enclosed. "I conjure your lordship," he says, "by the honest throe of gratitude, by the generous wish of benevolence, by all the powers and feelings which compose the magnanimous mind, do not deny me this petition; and, what has not in some other instances been always the case with me, the weight of the obligation is a pleasing load." The Earl seems to have refused, from motives of delicacy, the request of the poet. The lines, however, long lost, were at last found and were given to the world by Major James Glencairn Burns. They are illustrative of Glencairn himself:—

"Whose is that noble dauntless brow?  
 And whose that eye of fire?  
 And whose that generous princely mien  
 E'en rooted foes admire?  
 Stranger! to justly show that brow,  
 And mark that eye of fire,  
 Would take His hand, whose vernal tints  
 His other works inspire.

"Bright as a cloudless summer sun,  
 With stately port he moves;  
 His guardian seraph eyes with awe  
 The noble bard he loves.  
 Among th' illustrious Scottish sons  
 That chief thou may'st discern;  
 Mark Scotia's fond returning eye—  
 It dwells upon Glencairn."

It was to Glencairn that Burns turned when he was desirous of securing a post in the Excise, and the Earl lost no time in using his influence successfully on his behalf. How much the poet valued his friendship his letters tell. In a letter to Dalrymple of Orangefield he speaks of him as having "a goodness like that benevolent

Being whose image he so richly bears ;” and adds, “ he is a stronger proof of the immortality of the soul than any that philosophy ever produced. A mind like his never dies.” And when the Earl had gone over to the majority, and the honours of the family had passed to his brother, Burns sent the latter a copy of the new edition, just issued, with a letter in which he said—“ The generous patronage of your late illustrious brother found me in the lowest obscurity ; he introduced my rustic muse to the partiality of my country ; and to him I owe all. My sense of his goodness, and the anguish of my soul at losing my truly noble protector and friend, I have endeavoured to express in a poem to his memory, which I have now published.” This was the famous “ Lament for James Earl of Glencairn ” that closes with the touching and beautiful stanza :—

“ The bridegroom may forget the bride  
Was made his wedded wife yestreen,  
The monarch may forget the crown  
That on his head an hour has been,  
The mother may forget the child  
That smiles sae sweetly on her knee,  
But I'll remember thee, Glencairn,  
And a' that thou hast done for me.”

In 1786 the Earl had disposed of the estate of Kilmaurs to the Marchioness of Titchfield. In 1790, owing to declining health, he was advised to winter at Lisbon, but, finding that the change of residence failed to renew his waning energies, he resolved to return home ; and he died January 30, 1791, soon after landing at Falmouth, and was buried in the church there.

The Earl, who was unmarried, was succeeded by his brother John, the fifteenth Earl of Glencairn, who died in 1796, also unmarried, and with him the male line of the main stem of this ancient family became extinct, and the long famous Earldom of Glencairn was dormant. Whether it may ever be resuscitated must be left for time and for those immediately concerned to determine. There have been many branches of the



Cuninghame family—Aiket, Ashinyards, Auchenhavie, Baidland, Caddell and Thornton, Carlung, Clonbeith, Corsehill, Cuninghamehead, Glengarnock, Lainshaw, Monkredding, Montgreenan, Robertland—and these have given birth to many eminent men, and afford ample guarantee that the name and fame of the race are well assured in the county that has known it so well and so long.

## CHAPTER IX

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### THE BOYDS OF KILMARNOCK

This is another of those ancient Ayrshire families that have entwined their roots inextricably with the story of the county, and of the country, and their contendings. As with others of them, it is difficult to say to an absolute certainty whence it originally sprang, but there seems to be little reason to doubt that, to begin with (if the Irishism may be allowed), the Boyds were Stewarts. In the earlier centuries, when as yet the Stewarts were not allied with the Bruces, men were more inclined to take their surnames from their environment than they are now.

The Stewarts themselves were a case in point ; they were the High Stewards of Scotland and had honours and responsibilities in that capacity. Of their line was Simon, the son of Alan, the son of Flathuld (Fleance ?), who came to Scotland with his brother Walter, the first of the High Stewards, and whose name appears as a witness to the charter granted by him to the monastery of Paisley in 1160. Robert was Simon's son. He was fair of complexion, and so became known in the Celtic language which was then the speech of the countryside, as Boyt, or Baidh. The designation stuck to him, it became the surname of the family ; and Boyds they have been at least from the thirteenth century till now. There was a Robert de Boyd who in 1205 was one of the witnesses to an agreement come to between the village

of Irvine and Ralph of Eglintoun ; of whom descended, there is reason to believe, Robert, or Sir Robert de Boyd, who came into prominence as a strong fighter for the Bruce in the wars which he waged for the independence of Scotland, and who was rewarded, according to tradition, "for the merit of his good services" to King Robert, with the lordship and barony of Kilmarnock upon the forfeiture of the Lord Soulis, 1320. How this may have been is more than doubtful ; and the tradition is not borne out by the charter granted by Robert the Bruce.

This Robert Boyd, none the less, was, as we have said, conspicuous for the work he did in the War of Independence. When Bruce took the field in 1306, he was among those who rallied to his standard. In his "Life of Bruce," Harvey thus alludes to him in his description of the battle of Bannockburn :—

Ranged on the right, the Southern legions stood,  
And on their front the fiery Edward rode.  
With him the experienced Boyd divides the sway,  
Sent by the King to guide him through the day.

The "Southern legions" here were the Scottish troops who had joined the standard from the south country, and "the fiery Edward" was the King's own gallant brother. Boyd, thus distinguished and helpful in the hour of need, was naturally held in high esteem by the Bruce ; and in recognition of his services he gave him the lands of Kilmarnock, Bendington, and Hertschaw, which had formerly been held by the family of John de Baliol ; the lands of Kilbryde and Ardnell, which were Godfrey de Ross's ; all the land in Dalry that had belonged to William de Mora—all erected into an entire and free barony to be held of the King. He had also a charter of the lands of Noddesdale ; and Hertschaw was granted to him in free forest. Boyd was one of the guarantors of a treaty of peace with the English, 1323. He was taken prison at the battle of Halidon Hill, July 19, 1333, and he died not long afterwards.

His successor, Sir Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock, was also of the fighting order. He accompanied David II. to the battle of Durham in 1346, and shared in the captivity of the monarch which followed that fatal field. He had three sons—Thomas, his successor; William, ancestor of the Boyds of Badenheath in Strathearn, and who afterwards obtained from Robert III. a grant of the lands of Gavin and Reisk in the parish of Lochwinnoch, in Renfrewshire; and Robert, ancestor of the Boyds of Portincross. On his death he was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Thomas, who was alive in the beginning of the fifteenth century, and who married Alice, one of the four daughters and co-heiresses of Hugh Gifford of Yester, by whom he had his successor, also Sir Thomas, who married Joanna, daughter of John Montgomery, of Ardrossan, and died, as appears from his tombstone in the old church of Kilmarnock, July 7, 1432. He was one of the hostages to England for the ransom of James I., when his revenues were rated at five hundred merks, while those of his father-in-law were rated at seven hundred. On his death he was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock.

Sir Thomas Boyd was after the feudal order. In his home, behind the massive ramparts of the Dean Castle, he could bid his foes defiance, he had men and to spare to answer to his call, and he seems to have borne himself prominently in those family conflicts that for so long kept Ayrshire and the rest of Scotland in unrest and disquiet. Among those with whom he did battle was Sir Alan Stewart of Darnley, in the Eastwood parish of Renfrewshire. Sir Alan had seen active service in France, but his love of fighting does not seem to have been satiated by his experience in the foreign field, and on his return home he entered with spirit upon a blood feud with the Boyds. Sir Thomas reciprocated with hearty goodwill, and not a few were the incursions they made upon one another's territories, that led the way to the fight of Polmaise Thorn between Falkland and Linlithgow, that brought Sir Alan's career to a close.

Stewart was on his way across the country attended by a large body of his followers when he was overtaken by Boyd. A desperate conflict resulted. They fought till they were wearied, rested, and then began again, and this they did more than once ; nor ceased until Sir Alan Stewart went down in the fray—the consummation that Sir Thomas Boyd had ridden so far to attain. Their leader down, the Stewarts ceased from fighting, and the Boyds retraced their going to the Dean to be in readiness for the reprisal which they knew must follow.

It was not long delayed. When Sir Alan went down, Sir Alexander, his son, heir to his estates and to his courage and determination, rose in his stead ; and he took up the feud where his father had left it off. When the days of the mourning were over, he gave his men three days' warning to muster, and they set out in three detachments to meet at Craignaught Hill, in Dunlop parish, with the intention of catching Sir Thomas Boyd in a trap. This they succeeded in doing on the night of July 9, 1439. Boyd was outnumbered and outgeneralled, and he realised when it was too late that he was in an *impasse*. There was only the one thing to be done, and Boyd did it ; he steeled himself to the encounter ; and under the light of the moon the issue was determined. The rival chiefs came together in personal contest, and as they strove for the victory one of the Stewarts stabbed Sir Thomas in the back with his dagger, and he died upon the field. His wife did not long survive. When his body was borne within the gates of the Dean, she swooned away, then partially recovered, but continued like one in a trance till night returned ; then she fell asleep to awake no more.

Such in brief is the story of the feud of the Boyds with the Stewarts of Darnley. It is one of many stories of the same sort told in the annals of Ayrshire, for these blood feuds were punctuated with tragedies greater and less, and these had added fuel to the flame until eventually, but not for a long time after the slaying of the rival chiefs of Darnley and of the Dean, the one at

Polmaise Thorn, the other at the hill of Craignaught, it burned itself out. Who the lady of Kilmarnock was who thus followed her spouse so rapidly does not appear. The issue of the union was two sons, Sir Robert, and Sir Alexander of Duncrow, and two daughters, Janet, who was married to John Maxwell of Calderwood, and Margaret, who became the wife of Alexander Lord Montgomerie.

For men of the energy and vigour, and the ambition of Robert and Alexander Boyd, the events of the period in Scotland offered a great opportunity, and they did not neglect to avail themselves of it. In 1459 Sir Robert, one of the guardians of the young King, was created Lord Boyd. For the time being the power of the Douglasses had been broken. The Earl of Angus was still in his minority, and the selection of Sir Alexander as tutor to the young King, James IV., at the instance of the Queen mother and Bishop Kennedy, ended in his gaining a great influence over the mind of the youthful and impressionable monarch. Sir Alexander was a man experienced in worldly wisdom, of many accomplishments, and regarded as "a mirror of chivalry;" and he contrived most astutely, and apparently without raising the suspicion of Kennedy, who was the worthiest and the most trusted of the councillors of the throne, and one of the best men of the time, to transfer that influence to his brother. Kennedy, who was of the Cassillis family, did not long survive this ascendancy of the Boyds. It was, however, not until after his death that it ripened into action, and yet it is evident that, before that event occurred, the Boyds had formed a powerful league in which the Bishop's own brother, Lord Kennedy, figured prominently, and which included also Lord Montgomerie and Lord Cathcart. The coalition determined to gain possession of the person of the King, then (1466) but fourteen years of age, and this they did in a manner that was both summary and audacious. He was sitting in the Exchequer Court, then held in the palace of Linlithgow, when Lord Boyd and his friends



—but not Lord Kennedy, who had protested against the outrage—violently invaded the Court, and carried the King off to Edinburgh. Lord Kennedy interposed, some say to exculpate himself from the responsibility involved in the act, but a blow from the hunting staff of Sir Alexander Boyd put an end to his interference.

The incident created great indignation, and might have led to serious immediate consequences but for the ready wit of Lord Boyd, the chief conspirator. When the King was sitting in Council in Edinburgh he entered the room and threw himself on his knees at the King's feet, earnestly beseeching him to tell the Estates there assembled that he was not displeased with him for what he had done. James, who had apparently been taught his lesson beforehand, gave the assurance desired, and declared that he had left Linlithgow of his own free will and pleasure. Lest the forgiveness of the royal boy might not prove sufficient against future eventualities, a formal deed of pardon was drawn up and signed with the great seal ; and the Estates completed the transaction by appointing Boyd governor of the King's person and of his royal brothers. A still more signal honour fell to the house of Kilmarnock on the marriage (1466) of the King's sister, the Princess Mary, to Sir Thomas Boyd, the eldest son of Lord Boyd, and his elevation to the earldom of Arran ; and he received the grant of ample estates in the counties of Ayr, Bute, Lanark, Perth, and Forfar.

Lord Boyd, while he governed autocratically, does not seem to have abused his power. Regulations were enacted against the purchase of benefices *in commendam* and an endeavour was made to stay the alarming prevalence of crime and oppression by inflicting severe fines upon the borrows, or pledges, of those who had become security to the State that they would keep the peace and abstain from offering violence to the person or invading the property of their neighbours. "If borrows be broken,"—so ran the Act—"upon any bishop, prelate, earl, or lord of parliament, the party

who had impledged himself for his security was to be fined a hundred pounds; if upon barons, knights, squires, or clerks, fifty pounds; if upon burgesses, yeomen or priests, thirty pounds." Englishmen were forbidden to hold benefices in Scotland, and Scotsmen to take more money out of the country with them than they required for travelling expenses. Legislation was further put into force to encourage the bringing of money into Scotland, and copper farthings were issued for the encouragement of alms-deeds to be done to the poor. Boyd fostered also the mercantile and shipping interests of the country. He negotiated the marriage of the King with Margaret, the only daughter of Christian, King of Norway. For a time there appeared to be no end to his power, and he went so far as to obtain for himself the office of Great Chamberlain for life.

But Lord Boyd had not come thus far on his journey without making many enemies. His raid upon the King's person had not been forgotten, and he had incurred displeasure through the high-handed character of his administration, and the marriage of his son to the King's sister had excited sore and deep jealousies. The Earl of Arran had been appointed one of the Commissioners to bring the young Queen elect home. By the time of her arrival the hostility to the Boyds had ripened; it was, to all appearance, shared by the King; and when the vessel arrived in the Forth, the Countess of Arran hastened on board, represented to her husband the dangers to which he was exposed, and persuaded him to fly with her to Denmark. Whether this was part of the plot is one of the moot points in Scottish history; at all events, it was not long before she left him, to return to Scotland, where in 1469 she had no difficulty in obtaining divorce from her husband, and where in due time she gave her hand to Lord Hamilton, to whom she had been promised fifteen years before. Lord Boyd made a futile attempt to stem the torrent that was sweeping him away. He raised his vassals and began

a march upon Edinburgh with a view to the intimidation of the authorities, legislative and judicial, but on the approach of the royal army his friends forsook him, his followers began to disperse, and the old lord, in despair for his safety, fled across the border, to Alnwick, in Northumberland, where he soon after died.

Before that event had occurred, however, he and his son, the fugitive in Denmark, had been arraigned in their absence, together with Sir Alexander Boyd, for their share in the violent abduction of the King's person from Linlithgow. It was pleaded on their behalf that the act had not only been pardoned, but had been declared good service, but the plea was set aside on the ground that the legislative act of pardon had been extorted by the Boyds when they were supreme, and held the sovereign under a shameful durance. All the accused were convicted of high treason, and the same day, November 22, 1469, Sir Alexander Boyd, the only victim upon whom the ruling powers could lay their hands, was executed on the castle hill at Edinburgh. The estates that had been granted to the Earl of Arran were declared forfeit to the Crown. These included the lordship of Bute and the castle of Rothesay, the lordship of Cowal and the castle of Dunoon, the earldom of Carrick, the lands and castle of Dundonald, the barony of Renfrew, the lordship and castle of Kilmarnock, the lordships of Stewarton and Dalry, the lands of Niddesdail, Kilbride, Nairston, Caverton, Farinzean, Drumcoll, Telling, with the annulrent of Brechin and the fortalice of Trabach. The young Earl had obviously made good use of his time and opportunity ; his fall was complete and final ; and he remained on the continent until his death at Antwerp. He seems, none the less, to have been a man of many good parts, courteous, gentle, kind, bounteous, devout, and true to his wife ; and, exiled from his country, he took service with the Duke of Burgundy, who raised a splendid monument over his grave as a proof of the esteem in which he held him. While engaged in the Duke's service he had been

employed in negotiations with the Court of England. The date of his death is uncertain. The Earl of Arran had a son, James, by the Princess Mary, whose career is enveloped in a good deal of uncertainty. It was not a long career, and it was closed by his death, variously attributed to treachery or open assault, in 1484, by which time he could not have been more than sixteen years of age.

The fall of the Boyds was as swift as their rise had been phenomenal. They were quick to grasp occasion, and were not without great gifts after their kind, but they lacked the steadying qualification of self-control, they could not resist the opportunities for self-enrichment that came their way, and they went the inevitable road that opens out before men who make public position and places of trust subservient to the advancement of their own private ends.

Alexander, the second son of the first Lord Boyd, now became the representative of the family, and in 1492 a portion of the Kilmarnock estates was restored to him. He married a daughter of Sir Robert Colvill of Ochiltree, by whom he had three sons : Robert, his successor ; Thomas, ancestor of the Boyds of Pitcon ; and Adam, ancestor of the Boyds of Pinkill and Trochrig. In 1536 Thomas, who had then succeeded his father, and who had shewn his loyalty in the cause of the King, James V., both in the home and foreign field, was restored to the title of Lord Boyd ; and he is recognised as " the third lord," although in a highly material sense he was only the second. This, however, is not the only case in Ayrshire history in which the same practice, which must have had warrant at the time, was followed. The history of the Loudoun family supplies an analogous instance. Lord Boyd, who was also known as the Gudeman of Kilmarnock, appears to have taken up the feudal role against the Earl of Eglinton. There had been a contract entered into between the two families in 1530, but, like other contracts of the same kind, the parties involved set little store by it when it suited their

own purposes to break it. In 1547 Sir Neil Montgomerie of Lainshaw was slain by Lord Boyd and his adherents in a skirmish on the streets of Irvine. This is said to have provoked much bloodshed, and, according to the Rowallan "Memorandum," Lord Boyd was compelled to keep out of the way of Eglinton for some time. In John Mure of Rowallan he found a friend. He was discovered, however, by one of the Montgomeries, the Tutor of Eglinton, in the "bogside of Irvine," and arrangements were made to have him slain. Rowallan came to his aid, willing to venture his life, and all that he had, for Lord Boyd; and the support thus forthcoming appears to have prevented Eglinton from following out his design and risking an uncertain encounter in the "bogside." The feud, none the less, dragged on in the usual somewhat desultory fashion, for about thirty years, by the close of which period the "third" Lord Boyd was ten years dead. Before his death, which is believed to have taken place in 1550, he had resigned the lands and lordship of Kilmarnock to his son.

Lord Boyd married Helen, daughter of Sir John Somerville of Cambusnethan, by whom he had, besides his successor, a daughter, Margaret, who was married to John Montgomerie of Lainshaw. Probably this wedding may have been promoted as a means of arresting the feudal antipathies of the rival and contending families. The method was elsewhere employed in Ayrshire for the accomplishment of the same object. In this case, it may have effected its purpose; in the familiar instance of the wedding of John Mure, younger of Auchendrane, with the daughter of Kennedy of Culzean, it only added to the bitterness of an already exasperated situation.

Robert, fourth Lord Boyd, had all the ambition and the capacity for public affairs that had characterised some of those who had gone before him. He came upon the scene of Scottish life when Scotland was in the throes of the struggle that culminated in the first

Reformation, a period that tried such men as he both in the Court and in the country ; a time of waning faith on the one side and waxing faith on the other, that made it both difficult and hazardous for men to decide as to the path of duty. One is sometimes inclined, while he treads in the devious path on which so many of the old Scots nobility have left their footprints, to conclude that they were essentially of the race of the wobblers. But it is not difficult to understand why it was that so many of them did wobble. They were in more than a strait betwixt two. They had probably little care for the ecclesiastical side of the controversy. It can have mattered little to them in most instances whether the Reformation succeeded as a spiritual force or not, and it may not unnaturally have been that they had a love for the old religion of the land, with all its defections, its sins of omission and commission, and with its accretions of wealth that were so materially instrumental in its ultimate crushing to the ground. The rival powers, lay and spiritual, had their alternations ; they were up to-day and down to-morrow ; and each would remember those who antagonised it, in the day when it came to its own. There were paternal estates to be lost, there were church lands to be won, there were honours to be voided, there were ecclesiastical influences to be annexed, there were prelates to pay them back, there was a reforming kirk to reward them ; and all these things and many more of a like character had to be laid to heart, considered, and weighed. Thus it was that so many of them walked both warily and craftily, and tried to make the best of both sides.

The first public act of the fourth Lord Boyd was to oppose the Earl of Glencairn in 1544 when the Cuninghame chief marched with five hundred of his vassals to encounter the Earl of Arran on the burgh muir of Glasgow. Boyd was against "the old fox," and in a cruelly fought engagement, in which Glencairn was much outnumbered, the latter was completely routed and forced to flee for refuge to Dumbarton



Castle. On the outbreak of the civil war, however, between the Lords of the Congregation and the Queen Regent, he took part with the former, and was with them at Perth in 1559 when they asserted their supremacy against the Crown. In the February of the following year he was one of the signatories of the Treaty of Berwick, by which Queen Elizabeth engaged with all convenient speed to send an army into Scotland to assist the Lords in driving out the French, and he joined the English army at Prestonpans and signed the covenant in aid of the liberty of the "evangel of Christ," by which the chiefs of the reformed cause sought to encourage one another in the good work then nearing its completion. By this time he was strong for Presbytery. In 1562, after the Reformation, he adhibited his name to a bond to "maintain and assist the preaching of the evangel;" and, determined to make a clean end of "idolatry" even in the highest places of the land, he joined with Glencairn, Argyll, and Murray in the march they made upon Edinburgh, though only again to vacate the city when they learned that the Queen, whose fidelity to the "Mass" was the chief occasion of offending, was returning to the city. For this offence they were summoned to attend the meeting of the Scots Parliament in the February of 1565 under pain, in the event of non-compliance, of being denounced as rebels. Fortunately perhaps for them, the Parliament did not meet as determined, and before its next session, which did not open till April, 1567, Boyd's attitude had become completely changed.

This alteration, however, was not easily brought about. Lord Boyd hardly knew for a while, to all appearance, whither to turn. He was among the intriguers, and he seems to have allied himself in turn with the men on both sides. There is no doubt that he was a party to the plot, though he was not an active sharer in it, that resulted in the murder of David Rizzio, the Queen's Secretary, in Holyrood; when the conspirators assassinated the unhappy Italian, Boyd

was at a distance from the Scottish metropolis. He was believed to have been privy to the murder of Darnley at Kirk o' Fields, and if a so-called dying declaration of Bothwell is to be trusted, he was ; but there is reason to believe that the dying declaration was itself a fraud, and there is no proof whatever of Boyd's connivance in this deed of violence. He did lend himself, however, as one of the packed jury in the trial of Bothwell, to the acquittal of Bothwell of any share in the transaction ; and afterwards, while on the one hand he joined in the league to protect the infant prince against the sinister designs that were attributed to Bothwell, he not only remained on good terms with Bothwell himself, but joined the faction which, by a solemn league and covenant, engaged to take his part against his " privy and public calumniators " and to defend him with their " bodies, heritages, and goods." The Scottish Court was bristling all the while with these intrigues, and Boyd does not seem to have known in what direction to turn, but in the end he joined the friends of the unfortunate Queen of Scots and remained true to her till the close of her power in Scotland. In June, 1567, he attempted to hold Edinburgh for the Queen in conjunction with the Earl of Huntly, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and the Commendator of Kilwinning, but the citizens refused to defend the city, and it passed almost immediately into the hands of the other faction. He did what he could to bring about, in negotiation with Murray, the release of Mary, and when in 1568 she made her escape from Lochleven Castle, he joined her forces at Hamilton, and was present with her, as also were the eldest sons of the Earls of Eglinton and Cassillis, the Sheriff of Ayr, and the Abbot of Kilwinning, at the battle of Langside. The Queen, according to a State paper, " beheld this conflict within half a mile distant, upon a hill, accompanied with Lord Boyd " and about thirty others. After the rout of the Queen's forces, Boyd retired to his castle at Kilmarnock, which, however, he was soon compelled to surrender.

Lord Boyd found ample occasion to demonstrate his regard for Mary and his attachment to her cause in the negotiations that followed. He was not only a member of her Council, but was engaged in the intrigues that she carried on with the Duke of Norfolk, who entrusted him with a diamond to deliver to the Queen as a pledge of his affection and sincerity. Norfolk was at that time (1568) aspiring to the hand of the exiled Queen of Scots ; and in a letter written to him by Mary she says, " I took from my Lord Boyd the diamond, which I shall keep unseen about my neck till I give it again to the owner of it and me both." Before the Queen, however, could proceed any further with the intrigue with the Duke it was necessary that she should have a divorce from Bothwell, and Boyd was sent to Scotland to institute proceedings for a divorce, and to negotiate, with that object in view, with the Regent Murray ; but the Council, met at Perth, decided that no further steps should be taken in the matter ; and Boyd had of necessity to return to England and report the failure of his mission to his royal mistress. That he stood very high in the estimation of the Queen is evident from her letters ; she called him " our traist cousigne and counsallour," and expressed a desire to retain him permanently about her person. Returning to Scotland, in 1569 he was engaged in hatching a plot for a general rising, and was strongly suspected of complicity in the murder of the Regent Murray, January 22, 1570. The following year he was commissioned by the Queen to establish in Scotland " a leutenant ane or twa," in her name. Not long afterwards he was taken prisoner by the Regent Lennox at Paisley, but he escaped to Edinburgh, and thence he went to Stirling. By this time Lord Boyd had done all that was in his power, and risked more than he could afford to risk for his royal mistress, and he had become convinced that her cause was hopeless. He is said to have received " great promises " from Lennox, but the reason given by Mary herself in a letter of June 28, 1571, is more probably the true one ; despairing of its success, he,

with Argyll and Atholl, had begun to retire from her cause, and they began to bethink themselves what they had better do. He joined with Eglinton, Cassillis, and Argyll in executing a deed of secession and amity ; and, consenting to the election of Mar as Regent, was elected a member of the Privy Council. He visited Knox on his deathbed, but save that he said, " I know, sir, I have offended in many things, and have indeed come to crave your pardon," there is no record of what took place during the interview. Boyd was not only granted a complete indemnity, but was appointed one of the judges for the settlement of claims for restitution of goods arising out of acts of violence committed during the civil war.

Restored to favour, Lord Boyd enjoyed on the whole a prosperous career, though not unattended with vicissitudes. In October, 1573, Morton, of whom he remained a firm adherent, appointed him extraordinary Lord of Session ; and he signalised his elevation by ejecting, the following month, Sir John Stewart from the office of Bailie of the Regality of Glasgow and annexing the profits of the appointment to himself. For his kinsman, James Boyd, he procured the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow. When Morton resigned in February, 1578, Boyd chided him bitterly for his weakness, representing to him that he had not only weakened the hands of his friends but played into those of the enemy. With Morton's temporary eclipse he lost his seat both at the Council table and on the Bench, but when the Regent returned to power as Prime Minister he was again made a permanent member of the Council, and was, in addition, appointed visitor of the University of Glasgow, and commissioner for examining the book of the policy of the Kirk and settling its jurisdiction ; and his seat on the Bench was afterwards restored to him. Boyd joined in the Raid of Ruthven, and was banished the realm in 1583, the Earl of Arran taking his place as extraordinary Lord of Session. He retired to France, but three years later we find him negotiating an alliance between the

Crowns of Scotland and England, and he seems to have succeeded in regaining his place in the royal favour and in inducing the King to restore him his seat on the Bench, which he finally resigned, after two more years of office, in 1588. He was one of the commissioners for raising £100,000 in connection with the King's marriage, was a member of the commission to enforce the law against the Jesuits, and in the absence of the King was one of the wardens of the Border marches.

On January 3, 1590, Lord Boyd brought his long, eventful, and chequered life to a close, at the age of seventy-one. He was survived by his wife, Mariot, daughter and heiress of Sir John Colquhoun of Glinns, by whom he had, in addition to his eldest son, Robert of Auchentorlie, who predeceased him without issue, Thomas, his successor, and Robert of Badenheath; and four daughters, who married respectively—Egedia, the fourth Earl of Eglinton, by whom she had issue; Agnes, Sir John Colquhoun of Luss; Christian, Sir James Hamilton of Evandale; and Elizabeth, John Cuninghame of Drumquhassell.

From the death of the fourth Lord Boyd onwards—that is, from the latter end of the sixteenth century till after the away-going of the Stewarts, and the Hanoverian succession—the story of the Boyds is of interest rather for the genealogist than for the historian. Thomas, the fifth Lord, married Margaret, second daughter of Sir Matthew Campbell of Loudoun, by whom he had four sons and three daughters. His eldest son, Robert, the Master of Boyd, who died before his father, married Lady Jean Ker, eldest daughter of the second Earl of Lothian, by whom he had sons, the eldest of whom, another Robert, succeeded as the sixth Lord Boyd. By his wife, a daughter of the first Earl of Haddington, he had one son, also Robert, and six daughters. Robert, the seventh Lord, died in 1640 without issue, and was succeeded, as eighth Lord, by his uncle James. By his wife, a daughter of John Craik, Esq., he had a son, William, and a daughter, Eva, married to Sir David

Cuninghame of Robertland. William, ninth Lord Boyd, was created Earl of Kilmarnock in 1661. He married in the same year Lady Jean Cuninghame, eldest daughter of William, ninth Earl of Glencairn, by whom he had one son, who succeeded him, three sons who appear to have died unmarried, and two daughters. William, the second Earl, succeeded his father in 1692 and died the same year. By his wife, a daughter of Thomas Boyd, a merchant in Dublin, he had two sons, one, William, who succeeded him, the other, the Hon. Thomas Boyd, who in 1719 became a member of the Faculty of Advocates in Edinburgh. The third Earl sat in the Parliament of 1705, and was a steady supporter of the Union and of the Hanoverian succession. He married Euphemia, daughter of William, eleventh Lord Rosse, by whom he had a son, William, and died in 1717.

A melancholy interest attaches to the story of William, fourth Earl of Kilmarnock. His father, as has been said, was an ardent supporter of the house of Hanover. In the rebellion of 1715 he raised for the support of the Crown about five hundred of his own men. At that time his son, a boy of eleven, appeared in the field with him in arms. Thus were manifested what a contemporary historian called "the blossoms of his royal principle and education." He was a young man of generous, open, and affectionate character, but pleasure-loving, vain, and inconstant. Educated in Glasgow, he continued during the earlier years of his life fixed in his father's principles; and a proof of this is forthcoming in the fact that, when George I. died, he sent an order to the authorities of Kilmarnock to hold "the train bands in readiness for proclaiming the Prince of Wales." Even during the opening scenes in the rebellion of 1745 he remained true to the Crown; and it is a moot point what it was that induced him, suddenly, to throw in his lot with the desperate fortunes of the Pretender. His own fortune at the time was at a very low ebb, and it is conceivable that he may have elected to risk everything on the hazard of a "rising." His



deprivation of a pension that he had received from the Government may also have had something to do with embittering his spirit ; and it is possible that he was moved to rebellion by his wife, Lady Anne Livingstone, whose father, the fifth Earl of Linlithgow, had been attainted for high treason in 1715. The Countess, who was a Roman Catholic, had early imbibed the Jacobite principles, and it is neither difficult to understand how the lost cause, even in a vain attempt to resuscitate itself, may have appealed to her, nor how she may have incited the Earl to take part in a venture the successful issue of which would have brought back fame and fortune to the old house of Kilmarnock.

Events proved that the cause for which Prince Charles was contending never had any real chance, but it is one thing to be wise after the event and another to weigh the chances beforehand. The Earl was come of a race that had been wont in earlier days to take occasion by the hand. The Boyds in their time had been men of renown ; why should these times be gone never to return ? And if it be true that the Earl led a careless and a dissolute life, the comprehension becomes clearer ; the rashness, the sudden essaying of a battle for the Stewart house from which his forebears had sprung, the taking of the first rash step to which all the rest were inevitably consecutive. Certain it is that the fortunes of the Boyds were sunk low indeed ; “ after plaguing the steward for a fortnight ” the Countess “ only succeeded in obtaining three shillings from him.” When penury comes in at the door, more than love is apt to fly out of the window.

And to begin with, after the Earl did join the Prince, there was at least the foretaste of a mending of his fortunes. Charles received him with great marks of distinction and esteem, made him a Privy Councillor, and appointed him, first, Colonel of the Guards, and then General. He took a leading part in the battle of Falkirk, which ended in a victory for the forces of the Pretender, January 17, 1746. In February

Lady Kilmarnock, who had been in residence in Callender House, went off with the clansmen when they began their retreat towards the north. On April 16 the battle of Culloden was fought on Drumossie Moor, about ten miles from Inverness, and ended in the total rout of the Pretender's forces. The Earl might have escaped, but, unhappily for him, he advanced towards a division of the royal army under the impression that they were troops of the Prince, was taken prisoner, and sent to the Tower of London.

In June true bills were found against him, the Earl of Cromartie, and Lord Balmerino, and their trials were appointed to take place in Westminster Hall on the 28th of July. All the Peers were notified to attend in their robes. Westminster Hall was fitted up magnificently for the occasion, and the Peers, who were present to the number of 136, were given tickets for their friends so that they might witness the proceedings. The rebel Lords were brought from the Tower in carriages, the Earl of Kilmarnock in that of Lord Cornwallis, and in the last of the three coaches, that occupied by Lord Balmerino, was the headsman's axe, covered. When the charge of rebellion and treason was preferred against the accused, Kilmarnock and Cromartie pleaded guilty, and craved the King's mercy; Balmerino pleaded not guilty, but after evidence was led he expressed his regret that he had given the Court so much trouble. Each Peer had to give his own verdict. In turn each noble Lord laid his right hand on his heart and said, "Guilty, upon my honour, my Lord." Then the Lord High Steward, who presided, ordered the three convicted Lords to be conveyed back to the Tower, and told them to be prepared in two days with anything they had to submit to the Court in arrest of judgment. On the return journey the naked axe was carried before them with its edge towards them—a suggestive indication of what was to befall two of the three condemned men.

"Against eleven o'clock of the 30th" the three rebel Lords came prepared to show cause why sentence

of death should not be passed upon them. The Earl of Kilmarnock was the first to offer his defence, and he did it in a speech which may be accepted as the best explanation of his position from his own point of view, a position that cannot have seemed to him anything else than desperate. He said :—

“ May it please your Grace and my Lords—I have already, from a dire sense of my folly, and the heinousness of these crimes with which I stand charged, confessed myself guilty, and obnoxious to these punishments which the laws of the land have wisely provided for offences of so deep a dye. Nor would I have your lordships to suspect that what I have now to offer is intended to extenuate those crimes, or palliate my offences. No, I mean only to address myself to your lordships’ merciful disposition, to excite so much compassion in your lordships’ breasts, as to prevail on his Grace, and this honourable House, to intercede with his Majesty for his royal clemency. Though the situation I am now in, and the folly and rashness which has exposed me to this disgrace, cover me with confusion when I reflect on the unsullied honour of my ancestors, yet I cannot help mentioning their unshaken fidelity and steady loyalty to the Crown as a proper subject to excite that compassion which I am now soliciting. My father was an early and steady friend to the Revolution, and was very active in promoting every measure that tended to settle and secure the Protestant succession in these kingdoms. He not only in his public capacity promoted these events, but in his private supported them, and brought me up, and endeavoured to instil into my early years those Revolution principles which had always been the rule of his actions. It had been happy for me, my Lords, that I had been always influenced by his precepts and acted up to his example, yet I believe upon the strictest inquiry it will appear that the whole tenor of my life, from my first entering

into the world to the unhappy minute in which I was seduced to join in this rebellion, has been agreeable to my duty and allegiance, and consistent with the strictest loyalty. For the truth of this I need only appeal to the manner in which I have educated my children, the eldest of whom has the honour to bear a commission under his Majesty and has always behaved like a gentleman. I brought him up in the true principles of the Revolution and an abhorrence of Popery and arbitrary power. His behaviour is known to many of this honourable House, and therefore I take the liberty to appeal to your lordships, if it is possible that my endeavours in his education would have been attended with such success, if I had not myself been sincere in those principles and an enemy to those measures which have now involved me and my family in ruin ? Had my mind at that time been tainted with disloyalty and disaffection I could not have dissembled so closely with my own family, but some tincture would have devolved to my children. I have endeavoured as much as my capacity or interest would admit to be serviceable to the Crown on all occasions, and even at the breaking out of the rebellion I was so far from approving their measures or showing the least proneness to promote their unnatural scheme that by my interest in Kilmarnock, and places adjacent, I prevented numbers from joining them and encouraged the country as much as possible to continue firm in their allegiance. When that unhappy hour arrived in which I became a party, which was not till after the Battle of Preston, I was far from being a person of any consequence among them. I did not buy up any arms or raise a single man in their service. I endeavoured to moderate their cruelty, and was happily instrumental in saving the lives of many of his Majesty's loyal subjects whom they had taken prisoners. I assisted the sick and wounded and did all in my power to make their confinement tolerable. I had not been long with them

before I saw my error, and reflected with horror on the guilt of swerving from my allegiance to the best of Sovereigns ; the dishonour which it reflected upon myself and the fatal ruin which it necessarily brought upon my family. I then determined to leave them and submit to his Majesty's clemency as soon as I should have an opportunity. For this I separated myself from my corps at the Battle of Culloden and staid to surrender myself a prisoner, though I had frequent opportunities, and might have escapod with great ease. For the truth of which I appeal to the noble person to whom I surrendered. But, my Lords, I did not endeavour to make my escape because the consequences, in an instant, appeared to me more terrible, more shocking, than the most painful or ignominious death. I chose therefore to surrender and commit myself to the King's mercy rather than to throw myself into the hands of a foreign power, the natural enemy to my country, with whom to have merit I must persist in continued acts of violence to my principles and of treason and rebellion against my King and country. It is with the utmost abhorrence and detestation I have seen a letter from the French Court presuming to dictate to a British monarch the manner in which he should deal with his rebellious subjects. I am not so much in love with life, nor so void of a sense of honour, as to expect it upon such an intercession. I depend only on the merciful intercession of this honourable House and the innate clemency of his sacred Majesty. But if, my Lords, if all I have offered is not a sufficient motive to your Lordships to induce you to employ your interest unto his Majesty for his royal clemency in my behalf, I shall lay down my life with the utmost resignation ; and my last moments shall be employed in fervent prayers for the preservation of the illustrious House of Hanover and the peace and prosperity of Great Britain."

The Earl of Cromartie similarly appealed to the compassions of his judges and to the mercy of the Crown. "I have involved," he said, "an affectionate wife, with an unborn infant, as parties to my guilt, to share its penalties; I have involved my eldest son, whose infancy, and regard to his parents, hurried him down the stream of rebellion; I have involved also eight innocent children, who must feel their parent's punishment before they know his guilt." For their sakes he entreated pardon. "But if, after all," he added, "my safety shall be found inconsistent with that of the public, and nothing but my blood can atone for my unhappy crime; if the sacrifice of my life, my fortune, my family, is judged indispensably necessary for stopping the loud demands of public justice; and if the bitter cup is not to pass from me—not mine, but Thy will, O God, be done." Lord Balmerino refused to make appeal for mercy or to state any grounds of extenuation of his offending, and the Court adjourned for two days and appointed counsel to speak for him if he should deem it advisable. This he did not do; and, after the Lord High Steward had made a pathetic speech to them, to which they listened with the deepest attention, he proceeded to pass sentence on the rebel lords as follows:—

"The judgment of the law is, and this high Court doth award, that you, William Earl of Kilmarnock, George Earl of Cromertie, and Arthur Lord Balmerino, and every one of you, return to the prison of the Tower, from whence you came; from thence you must be drawn to the place of execution; when you come there you must be hanged by the neck; but not till you are dead; for you must be cut down alive; then your bowels must be taken out and burnt before your faces; then your heads must be severed from your bodies; and your bodies must be divided each into four quarters; and these must be at the King's disposal. And God Almighty be merciful to your souls!"



Such was the form of the sentence, itself a barbarous relic of earlier times. It was only in extreme or aggravated cases that the more ignominious and revolting parts of the punishment were inflicted; though it is worth recalling that all the details were carried out in the case of Hackston of Rathillet, who was executed in Edinburgh for the murder of Archbishop Sharp in 1680. After the sentence had been pronounced, the prisoners were removed from the bar, and the Lord High Steward, standing up uncovered, broke his staff and pronounced the commission dissolved.

Petitions were presented, in the name of the Earl of Kilmarnock—by this time described as the late Earl—to the King, the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Cumberland. In that to the King he appealed for mercy as an object of compassion and pity; reiterated the services rendered to the Crown by his ancestors, his father's zeal in the cause of the revolution and his active services in the rising of 1715, and his own early fidelity to the throne. He attributed his sudden lapse from loyalty and sound principles to rashness and the designs of wicked and ill-disposed persons. After the battle of Preston, and before allying himself with the rebels, he had, he said, gone to Kilmarnock and influenced its inhabitants, so far as he could, and by their means the neighbouring burghs, to rise in arms for his Majesty's service; "which had so good an effect that two hundred men of Kilmarnock appeared very soon in arms, and remained so all the winter at Glasgow or other places as they were ordered." Even in the midst of his greatest delusion he had done his utmost to protect those who had fallen prisoners into the hands of the rebels and had succeeded in obtaining for them better treatment. Having repeated the other points which he had made in his speech, the Earl closed his petition in these words :

"Under these circumstances, sir, it is that the unhappy prisoner (more so from remorse of having violated his allegiance to your Majesty, than from

the sentence he lies under) dares to approach your throne and implore your royal mercy ; and which he hopes for, as he cannot reproach himself with any guilt precedent to this fatal breach of his duty."

The petition to the Prince was almost in the same words, and ended thus :—

" Your petitioner begs leave therefore to implore your Royal Highness's intercession with his Majesty in his behalf, for a life which always has been, till this unhappy interruption, and, if spared, shall be spent in the service of His Majesty, of your Royal Highness, and your august house ; and in the most fervent prayers for the happiness and prosperity of your illustrious family."

In his appeal to the Duke of Cumberland, who had commanded the royal troops at Culloden, the Earl vindicated himself from certain charges against him that, he had reason to believe, were militating against his chances of reprieve ; " that of advising the putting to death those who were prisoners before the battle of Culloden ; and advising or approving of the bloody and barbarous order for giving no quarter to his Majesty's troops at that battle." To these he gave an unqualified denial. " Cruelty," he declared, " was never part of your petitioner's character," and he urged the Duke to make further inquiry so that his honour might be cleared from the reproach of inhumanity.

On the 9th of August the Earl of Cromertie received a pardon ; on the 11th an order was signed in Council for the execution of the Earl of Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino on Tower Hill, on Monday, the 18th ; and on the 12th two writs passed the great seal to empower Lord Cornwallis, Constable of the Tower, to deliver their bodies to the Sheriffs of London that day for execution. The Earl was attended by an eminent dissenting minister, Mr. James Foster, who published

an account of his behaviour after his sentence and on the day of his execution. According to this narrative he assured Mr. Foster "that in the hours of his confinement and solitude he had felt it lie as a severe and heavy load upon his soul; and particularly upon these two accounts, which were peculiar aggravations of his guilt, that he had been a rebel against his conscience and inward principles, and in violation of his oath solemnly and often repeated." It concerned him that the rebellion had created consternation and terror throughout the land, obstructed commerce, shocked public credit, and resulted in numerous private oppressions and murders; "yea," he added with deep concern, "and murders of the innocent too." He had never, he assured Mr. Foster, countenanced in any way the rising as an instrument in the restoration of the Romish faith, with which he had no sympathy whatever. What then, asked the minister, "could be his motive to engage thus in the rebellion, against his conscience and in violation of his sacred oaths?"

"He answered that the true root of all was his careless and dissolute life, by which he had reduced himself to great and perplexing difficulties; that the exigency of his affairs was in particular very pressing at the time of the rebellion; that, besides the general hope he had of mending his fortune by the success of it, he was also tempted by another prospect, of retrieving his circumstances if he followed the Pretender's standard; and that his love of vanity and addictedness to impurity and sensual pleasure had not only brought pollution and guilt upon his soul, but debased his reason, and for a time suspended the exercise of his social affections, which were by nature strong in him, and in particular the love of his country."

Mr. Foster questioned him closely regarding the charges of inhumanity that had been brought against him. To these he again gave the most explicit denial,

asserting that on the contrary his whole influence had been used in the contrary direction. To his spiritual adviser he appeared to be "of a soft and benevolent disposition, always remarkably mild and temperate in his behaviour, and free and ingenuous in his confessions." It concerned him much that he had told the House of Lords an untruth when he said that he might have escaped from the field of Culloden if he had been so minded; and he desired that his confession in this respect should be made public before his execution that he might not be considered "as one who presumed to appear before the tribunal of God with a lie in his mouth."

"And here," adds Mr. Foster, "I cannot help thinking myself bound, in justice to Lady Kilmarnock, to declare that he said to me, though she was bred in different sentiments, that he thought her more inclined to Whiggish than Jacobite principles. And the Rev. and Hon. Mr. Home, and Mr. Ross, his lordship's solicitor, desired me to inform the world of another thing, which he had expressly mentioned to them, viz., that instead of exciting him to she had dissuaded him from entering into the late wicked and horrid rebellion."

The efforts that were made by Lord Kilmarnock's friends to obtain a remission of his sentence proved abortive. He received the tidings with a due sense of their solemnity, but without appearance of either anxiety or terror. To the spiritual consolations offered by Mr. Foster he replied that he had never been a libertine in principle, even during the time when he was most licentious in his conduct, that he had always believed the great truths of God's being and providence, and that he had never been involved in the fashionable scepticism of the times with regard to Christianity. It was not death itself that concerned him, but the after consequences of it; "the stroke appeared to be scarce

so much as the drawing of a tooth, or the first shock of the cold bath upon a weak and fearful temper."

The execution was to take place upon a Monday, and on the preceding Saturday General Williamson gave him a minute detail of all the circumstances of solemnity and outward terror that would accompany it. About ten o'clock, he told him, the Sheriffs would come and demand the prisoners, who would be delivered to them at the gate of the Tower ; that from thence, if their lordships thought proper, they should walk on foot to the house appointed on Tower Hill for their reception, where the rooms would be hung with black, to make the more decent and solemn appearance, and that the scaffold also would be covered with black cloth ; that they might wait in the house till they were ready, but not longer than one o'clock, when the warrant expired ; and that every care would be taken to have the block fixed securely so that the certainty or decency of the execution should not be obstructed by any concussion or sudden jerk of the body. With all this he expressed his satisfaction. But when the General told him that two mourning hearses would be placed close by the scaffold, so that when the heads were struck off the coffins might be taken out to receive the bodies, he said it would be better for the coffins to be upon the scaffold, for by that means the bodies would be the sooner removed from sight. Being informed that an executioner had been appointed who would do his work dexterously, and that he was a very good sort of man, the Earl observed—"General, this is one of the worst circumstances you could have mentioned. I can't thoroughly like, for such business, your good sort of men ; for one of that character, I apprehend, must be a tender-hearted and compassionate man, and a rougher and less sensible temper might perhaps be fitter to be employed." After this the Earl desired that four persons might be appointed to receive the head in a red cloth when it was severed from the body, that it might not, as he had been informed was the case in some former executions, roll about the

scaffold and be thereby mangled and disfigured ; for although this was in comparison but a small circumstance, he was not willing that his body should appear with any unnecessary indecency after the just sentence of law was satisfied.

The Earl's calmness and courage never for a moment deserted him. His spiritual adviser found him at eight o'clock on the morning of the day of execution in quite a happy temper, his mind at ease and serene. About the same hour the Sheriffs, the under-Sheriffs, their officers, with the Sergeants at Mace, the Yeomen, and the executioner, met at the Mitre Tavern in Fenchurch Street, and, after they had breakfasted, repaired to the house on Tower Hill that had been set apart for the reception of the rebel lords. At ten o'clock the block was fixed, covered with black cloth, and several sacks of sawdust were provided to strew on the scaffold. Soon after the two coffins were brought to the place of execution ; these were covered with black cloth and ornamented with gilt nails. On Kilmarnock's there was a plate, covered with this inscription, "*Guilelmus Comes de Kilmarnock, decollatus 18 Augusti 1746, ætat, suae 42,*" with an Earl's coronet over it and six coronets over the six handles ; and on Balmerino's, a plate with this inscription, "*Arthurus Dominus de Balmerino, decollatus 18 Augusti 1746, ætat, suae 58,*" with a Baron's coronet over it, and six others over the six handles.

About a quarter past ten the Sheriffs went in procession to the Tower ; and, after knocking some time at the gate, a Warder within asked, "Who's there ?" The reply was, "The Sheriffs of London and Middlesex." The Warder then asked, "What do you want ?" The officer answered, "The bodies of William Earl of Kilmarnock and Arthur Lord Balmerino ;" upon which the Warder answered, "I will go and inform the Lieutenant of the Tower." When General Williamson informed the Earl of Kilmarnock that the Sheriffs were in waiting, the Earl was not in the least startled, but



calmly said, "General, I am ready; I'll follow you." At the foot of the first stair he met and embraced Lord Balmerino, who observed, "My lord, I am heartily sorry to have you in this expedition." On reaching the gate the prisoners were formally handed over to the Sheriffs, who granted proper receipts for their bodies to the Deputy-Lieutenant. As they were leaving the Tower the Deputy-Lieutenant said, "God bless King George." Lord Kilmarnock bowed. Lord Balmerino said, "God bless King James."

From the gate of the Tower the solemn procession marched to the house adjacent to the scaffold that had been reserved for the condemned men, Lord Kilmarnock accompanied by one Sheriff, Lord Balmerino by another, and two hearses and a mourning coach forming part of the cortege. When the troops that had accompanied the rebel lords reached the house they were lined up facing the scaffold. In the house the lords held final converse with their friends, each in his own apartment, and then at the request of Lord Balmerino that nobleman was conducted to the Earl, with whom he held a short conversation. It ran as follows :—

BALMERINO—My lord, I beg leave to ask your lordship one question.

KILMARNOCK—To any question, my lord, that you shall now think it proper to ask, I believe I shall see no reason to decline giving an answer.

BALMERINO—Why then, my lord, did you ever see or know of any order signed by the Prince (the Pretender's son) to give no quarter at the Battle of Culloden ?

KILMARNOCK—No, my lord.

BALMERINO—Nor I either; and therefore it seems to be an invention to justify their own murder, or murderous scheme.

KILMARNOCK—No, my lord, I do not see that this inference can be drawn from it, because, while I was a prisoner at Inverness, I was informed by several officers that there was such an order, and that it was signed "George Murray," and that it was in the Duke's custody.

BALMERINO—Lord George Murray! Why then, they should not charge it upon the Prince.

After this Lord Balmerino embraced the Earl and took his leave, remarking as he left the room, "My dear Lord Kilmarnock, I am sorry that I cannot pay all this reckoning alone. Once more, farewell for ever." Mr. Foster, the attendant clergyman, then announced to those present the purport of what the Earl had previously said, that he acknowledged King George to be the rightful and lawful King of these realms, that he had engaged in the late wicked and unnatural rebellion against his conscience, that he confessed the shame and the guilt of it and asked pardon of God, of his King, and of his country, and that with his dying breath he would pray for the prosperity of King George, the establishment of his royal house, and the peace and welfare of his country. To this the Earl gave his assent. The minister then prayed with him, asking the spectators of the mournful scene to join with him fervently in commending the soul of the unhappy man, who had given so many marks of his sincere penitence for the crime of his rebellion, to the mercy of God. The prayer closed with a petition to Heaven for the King, his glory and renown, peace in his borders, length of happy days for the royal house, "and that our holy religion and inestimable British liberties may be transmitted down secure and sacred to our posterity, even to the latest generations."

The Earl having taken farewell of his friends followed the Sheriff to the scene of execution, his friends coming after. He had tried to familiarise himself beforehand with the dread auxiliaries that he would have to contemplate as he stepped upon the scaffold, but nevertheless when he saw the block, the headsman standing by it with his gleaming axe, and his coffin, "Home," he said, to a friend, "this is terrible." He remained calm and resigned none the less, and so demeaned himself that the executioner burst into tears, and was compelled to have recourse to spirits to sustain him. Some time was spent adjusting the Earl's hair, which he wore in a bag, in a

damask napkin which formed a close-fitting cap, and in tucking his shirt under his waistcoat, so that he should be bare to the shoulders. Taking a paper containing the heads of his devotions from his pocket, he knelt down at the block and placed his hands upon it. The headsman advised him to take them down lest they should be mangled or obstruct the force of the blow. This he did, and finding that his waistcoat was still in the way, he rose, and, with the help of one of his friends, Mr. Walkinshaw of Scotston, had it taken off altogether. That done he resumed his place on his knees, and informed the headsman that he would give the signal, by dropping his handkerchief, in two minutes. These he spent in prayer, timing himself accurately, although the short period proved all too long for his friends who were standing by. He then adjusted his head on the block and dropped the pocket handkerchief, the axe descended with instantly fatal precision, and the unfortunate Earl was at once relieved of all his pain. The head was caught in a piece of red baize held by four persons to receive it, and was, with the body, placed in the coffin and delivered to the Earl's friends, who placed it in the hearse and had it removed. The scaffold was hastily cleansed of the blood stains and strewn with fresh sawdust, and the executioner, who was dressed in white, changed such of his clothes as had been stained.

"I suppose my Lord Kilmarnock is no more," Lord Balmerino observed to the Under-Sheriff who came to tell him that his hour had come. When he was told at his own request how the executioner had performed his duty he said, "Then it was well done. And now, gentlemen, I will detain you no longer, for I desire not to protract my life." Balmerino, who was dressed in the regimentals he had worn at Culloden, mounted the scaffold with undaunted step. He evinced no signs of emotion, reproved his friends for showing any, bowed to the people, ordered the driver to bring the hearse near so that he might see it and read the inscription on his coffin, and, looking at the block with seeming pleasure,

called it his "pillow of rest." When the executioner asked forgiveness of him, "Friend," he replied, "you need not ask me forgiveness; the execution of your duty is commendable." Handing the headsman three guineas, he remarked it was all the money he had and that, for the recipient's sake, he wished it was more, but that he was also to have his coat and waistcoat. These he forthwith took off and laid upon his coffin. Placing a plaid cap on his head, he said that he would die a Scotsman, then he examined the block, took the axe in his hand and felt its edge, and told the executioner where to strike, and to do it with resolution. "For in that, friend," said his lordship, "will consist your mercy." The intrepidity of Balmerino seems to have unnerved the headsman, for it was not until the third stroke that the head fell into the red cloth. Contrasting the quiet resignation of the Earl of Kilmarnock with the easy and assertive nonchalance of Balmerino, a writer of the period says of the latter that "the roughness of his nature prevented his feeling, and his military course of life had reconciled him to the sight of death. There remained therefore nothing here that could fright him. As to hereafter, the prejudices of education set him at ease. Kilmarnock received Death as a stranger with whom he would willingly have deferred his acquaintance, but Balmerino met him as a friend whom, having long expected, he was glad to see."

After the death of the Earl of Kilmarnock two interesting papers were given to the world. The one, which had been handed to Mr. Foster the day before the execution, was in these words :—

"As it would be a vain attempt in me to speak distinctly to the great concourse of people who will probably be present at my execution, I choose to leave this behind me as my last solemn declaration, appealing for my integrity to God, who knows my heart.

"I bless God I have little fear of temporal death, tho' attended with many outward circumstances of

terror. The greatest sting that I feel in death is that I have deserved it.

“ Lord Balmerino, my fellow-sufferer, to do him justice, dies in a professed adherence to the mistaken principles he had imbibed from his cradle. But I engaged in the rebellion in opposition to my own principles and to those of my family, in contradiction to the whole tenor of my conduct till within these few months that I was wickedly induced to renounce my allegiance, which ever before I had preserved and held inviolable. I am in little pain for the reflexions which the inconsiderate or prejudiced part of my countrymen (if there are such whom my suffering the just sentence of the law has not mollified) may cast upon me for this confession. The wisest and most ingenuous will, I hope, approve my conduct ; and allow with me that, next to doing right, is to have the courage and integrity to own that I have done wrong.

“ Groundless accusations of cruelty have been raised and propagated concerning me, and charges spread among the people of my having solicited for, nay actually signed orders of general savage destruction, seldom issued among the most barbarous nations, and which my soul abhors. And that the general temper of my mind was ever averse from and shocked at gross instances of inhumanity, I appeal to all my friends and acquaintances who have known me most intimately, and even to those prisoners of the King’s troops to whom I had access, and whom I ever had it in my power to relieve. I appeal, in particular, for my justification as to this justly detested and horrid crime of cruelty to Captain Master of Ross, Captain-Lieutenant Rixon, and Lieutenant George Cumming of Alter.

“ These gentlemen will, I am persuaded, as far as relates to themselves, and as far as has fallen within their knowledge or credible information, do me justice ; and then, surely, my countrymen will not load a person, already too guilty and unfortunate,

with undeserved infamy, which may not only fix itself on his own character, but reflect dishonour on his family.

“ I have no more to say, but that I am persuaded, if reasons of State and the demands of public justice had permitted his Majesty to follow the dictates of his own royal heart, my sentence might have been mitigated. Had it pleased God to prolong my life, the remainder of it should have been faithfully employed in the service of my justly offended Sovereign, and in constant endeavours to wipe away the very remembrance of my crimes.

“ I now with my dying breath beseech Almighty God to bless my only rightful Sovereign, King George, and preserve him from the attempts of public and private enemies. May his Majesty and his illustrious descendants be so guided, by the Divine Providence, as ever to govern with that wisdom and that care for the public good as will preserve to them the love of their subjects, and secure their right to reign over a free and happy people to the latest posterity.”

The second paper is of a more personal and a more interesting character. It is an extract from the letter that the Earl wrote to his son, Lord Boyd, the same day—the day, that is, preceding his execution. It is dated “ Tower, August 17, 1746 :—

“ Dear Boyd . . . I must take this way to bid you farewell, and I pray God may for ever bless you and guide you in this world, and bring you to a happy immortality in the world to come. I must likewise give you my last advice. Seek God in your youth, and when you are old He will not depart from you. Be at pains to acquire good habits now, that they may grow up and become strong in you. Love mankind and do justice to all men. Do good to as many as you can, and neither shut your ears nor your purse to those in distress whom it is in your power to relieve. Believe me, you will find more joy in one



beneficent action, and in your cool mornings you will be more happy with the reflexion of having made any one person so, who without your assistance would have been miserable, than in the enjoyment of all the pleasures of sense (which pall in the using), and of all the poms and gaudy show of the world. Live within your circumstances ; by which means you will have it in your power to do good to others.

“ Above all things continue in loyalty to his present Majesty, and the succession to the Crown as by law established. Look on that as the basis of the civil and religious liberty and prosperity of every individual in the nation. Prefer the public interest to your own wherever they interfere. Love your family and your children, when you have any ; but never let your regard for them drive you on the rock I split upon, when on that account I departed from my principles and brought the guilt of rebellion and civil and particular desolation on my head ; for which I am now under the sentence justly due to my crime.

“ Use all your influence to get your brother pardoned and brought home as soon as possible, that his circumstances, and bad influences of those he is among, may not induce him to accept of foreign service and lose him both to his country and to his family. If money can be found to support him, I wish you would advise him to go to Geneva, where his principles of religion and liberty will be confirmed, and where he may stay till you see if a pardon can be procured him. As soon as Commodore Barnet comes home enquire for your brother Billie and take care of him on my account. I must again recommend your unhappy mother to you. Comfort her, and take care all you can of your brothers. And may God of His infinite mercy preserve, guide, and conduct you and them through all the vicissitudes of this life, and after it bring you to the habitations of the just, and make you happy in the enjoyment of Himself to all eternity.”

In this melancholy fashion closes the history of the once great house of Kilmarnock, at least so far as it is of any general public interest. Throughout the pages of the story one may read the character of the rebel lord. He never was a strong man, but he was by no means destitute of generous and of good impulses. In his early life he lacked the guiding principles of rectitude and of virtue, was easily led, and so gave way to his passions as not only to impoverish his estate and reduce himself to poverty with all the desperate temptations that adhere to it, but to render himself an easy prey to the wiles of stronger and more insidious natures than his own. The Rebellion found him in the position of the gambler whom ruin stares in the face, and who has only his last card to play, and in an evil hour he elected to risk everything on the hazard of the die. And by the time he had come to see what a mistake he had made, and in what terrible consequences he had involved himself, it was too late. Having risked everything, he lost everything, and then, face to face with the dread realities of his position, he did what he could to emerge from the shadow and to grasp at the substance of what remained to him. It was not much, but such as it was he made the best of it by renouncing the disloyal principles that had led him astray, in taking up the fealty and the patriotism he had cast aside, and in endeavouring to make such scant amends as were in his power for the evil he had done.

One may judiciously as a rule reserve a good deal of judgment on the conversion to wiser principles and to a more righteous regard of the realities of death and judgment, of the man who is under sentence of death, but in the case of the Earl of Kilmarnock there is no reason to doubt that he was wholly penitent and sincere in his abjuration of the cause that he had espoused and of the conduct which had consigned him to an ignominious death. He took a calm survey of his position. While not courting death, he had no craven fear of it. He would gladly have lived on, but when he found that

could not be it begat no sense of injustice done him by the ruling powers, and he was free to admit that he had merited execution. His anxiety to clear his character, and to prevent any stain resting upon his family as the result of the charges of inhumanity that had been brought against him, was only natural. His story constitutes sad reading ; it is an outstanding illustration of the need of moral fibre ; and is itself the strongest emphasis that can be applied to the Earl's counsel to his son—"Be at pains to acquire good habits now, that they may grow up and become strong in you." Nor was the Earl the only member of the once great house of Kilmarnock whose life read for posterity that salutary lesson.

By his wife the fourth Earl had three sons. The eldest, James Lord Boyd, served in the Scots Fusiliers at the battle of Culloden, where he was fighting against his own father. By a trust deed executed in 1732, and confirmed twenty years later, he recovered the lands of Kilmarnock, which had been forfeited, and which he afterwards sold to the Earl of Glencairn. On the death of his grand-aunt, the Countess of Errol in her own right, he succeeded to the title of Earl of Errol in 1758. At the coronation of George III. in 1761 he officiated as Constable of Scotland. When the King entered he neglected by accident to pull off his cap, and when he hastened in the most respectful manner to apologise for his negligence his Majesty entreated him to be covered, for he regarded his presence at the solemnity as a very particular honour. The eldest son of the Earl of Errol is known as Lord Kilmarnock. The Earl himself is Baron Kilmarnock of Kilmarnock in the peerage of the United Kingdom. The second son, Charles, was engaged at Culloden in the ranks of the Pretender. After the battle he fled to the island of Arran, where he remained secluded for a year, and then made his escape to France, where he married a French lady, and whence, after twenty years' residence, he returned to this country when a general pardon was issued to all the rebels of

the Forty-five. He appears to have been married a second time, for under date May, 1800, there is an entry in the Register of Sasines for the burgh of Glasgow in favour of "Mrs. Anne Lockhart, alias Boyd, relict of the late Hon. Charles Boyd, second son of the deceast Earl of Kilmarnock." The third son, William, served in the Royal Navy and was promoted in 1761 to a company of the Fourteenth Foot. He died at Slains Castle, Aberdeenshire, December, 1780. The Countess of Kilmarnock died at Kilmarnock House of a broken heart on 18th September, 1747.

The motto of the Boyds of Kilmarnock was "Confido." On a compartment of the coat of arms is the word "Goldberry," said to be commemorative of Sir Robert Boyd having, at the Battle of Largs in 1263, intercepted and completely routed a foraging party of Norwegians at Goldberry Hill, about five miles south of the scene of the main action.

## CHAPTER X

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### THE COCHRANES OF DUNDONALD

There was a Cochrane on the five mark land of Paisley as far back as 1262, and it need hardly be said therefore that the family is of ancient origin. Its earlier years—indeed one may say its earlier centuries—were connected with Renfrewshire.

From the time when first the Cochranes came within the view of the historian or the genealogist they were playing their part, and sometimes a conspicuous part, in the story of the country. There was a William Cochrane who signed the deed of submission to Edward I. of England in 1296 ; a John who in 1346 put his name to a papal bull that dealt with the creation of an Abbot of Paisley ; a Cosmus de Cochrane who in 1367 witnessed a grant made by Robert II. to the monastery of Paisley ; a William Cochrane who owned lands in Roxburghshire in 1360, and who was taken bound by the lord of Dunrod to maintain men and horses for service in war or in peace ; a Robert Cochrane who in 1392 parted with his share of the lands of Langnewton to Sir Henry Douglas of Lugton ; a John Cochrane who lived in 1460 at Lincliffe, in Renfrewshire, and whose property was assessed for an annual payment of four chalders of oats and twelve days' shearing ; an Allan of Cochrane who in 1476 was fighting an action at Edinburgh before the Lords Auditors against three men, concerning two horses ; a James Cochrane of that ilk in 1484, and a Robert Cochrane in

1493, regarding whom nothing particular is recorded ; a John Cochrane in 1519 whose seal showed three boars' heads erased, and who sold the barony of East Cochrane to James Beatoun, the Archbishop of Glasgow ; a John Cochrane who in 1546, and again in 1556, appended his name to charters of the period ; a William Cochrane who was confirmed in the lands of Cochrane in 1556, and who is believed to have added " the freestone tower " to the family manor-house—a tower that was to give shelter more than a century afterwards to Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree when he had made his escape after the Argyll rising ; and an Elizabeth Cochrane upon whom the house of Cochrane depended for its continuance on her issue as sole heiress, and who in 1606 wedded Alexander Blair, third son of Alexander Blair of that ilk, who assumed the name and the arms of Cochrane—" a virtuous and frugal man," who added to the family possessions in Renfrewshire, and in 1616 acquired the lands of Auchincreich in Ayrshire. Thus the Cochranes maintained a clear succession through the centuries, and thus they came into the county of Ayr.

When Alexander died, about 1624, the succession was taken up by his son John, afterwards Sir John Cochrane of that ilk, Knight, who was born about 1604 and educated in Glasgow, where he took his M.A. degree, 1623. Sir John, whose wife is said to have been a cousin of the Duke of Ormonde, was a man of strong and active Covenanting sympathies, with which he combined a pronounced loyalty to the Crown. He was there, in 1640, when the Covenanters under Lieutenant-Colonel Home besieged Caerlaverock Castle, and succeeded, after a thirteen weeks' investment, in obtaining possession of this ancient stronghold, and at Threave, the famous castle of the Douglasses in the Stewartry, the same year, when the Earl of Nithsdale held it for the King, and when, because aid could not be forthcoming, he had to make the best terms of submission that he could arrange. Engaged in a plot the following year against Hamilton and Argyll, Colonel Cochrane's officers were dismissed,



and he himself was summoned to appear before Parliament, but he was released without bail on the petition of the very two noblemen against whom he had plotted.

In 1642 his royalist sympathies seem to have got the better of his more rigid Covenanting affinities, for, resigning his Scottish estates to his next brother, William, he went across to Holland to raise men and money for the King. From Holland he went with the English Ambassador to Denmark, where they were both "evil entreated and put in prison." On being set at liberty he resumed his military duties, and was placed by Prince Rupert in command at Towcester. In company with the Marquis of Montrose and many others he signed the Solemn League and Covenant at Oxford—one of the provisions of which was the preservation of the King's person and lawful authority—and then, by which time he was Sir John Cochrane, visited Holland and Denmark in the royal interest. But not all the efforts, or the unswerving and unselfish loyalty of his friends, could save Charles I. from his doom. His execution at the hands of the Parliament created so hostile a feeling to Great Britain on the Continent of Europe that the Czar of Russia chased the British Envoy from his Court, and the Ambassador to France had needs to fly the country. Sir John, however, more fortunate than they, maintained his position in Holland, and not only succeeded in securing his own recognition as Envoy, but also recognition of the sovereignty of Charles II. In 1650 the Scottish Parliament forbade his return to Scotland, and in 1652, probably because of assistance rendered to her husband in the promotion of some of his plans, his wife was put in prison. On her release she received a grant of "£5 for present relief," and a pass for her husband to return to England, which he did the following year. He remained an active promoter of the royal cause, and in the discharge of public duties till 1657, after which date his name disappears from the public records. The probability therefore is that he

died before the Restoration of 1660, and was not spared to witness the success of the cause to which he had so faithfully devoted himself.

His brother William, to whom, as we have said, Sir John resigned his Scottish estates, began his education at Paisley Grammar School, and finished it at Glasgow University, 1626. He early displayed the possession of an active and an energetic spirit and of capacity for public work. A Sheriff-depute of the county of Renfrew in 1632 at the age of twenty-seven, he was present in Edinburgh the following year on the occasion of the public entry of Charles I. In 1638 he acquired the lands of Dundonald, which were erected into a burgh of barony, though the advantages of the erection were never made use of, and became about the same time chamberlain to the Duke of Lennox. Knighted in 1641 by the King, and Member of Parliament for Ayrshire, his name appears in all Parliamentary committees of importance. In 1645 he was the bearer of letters and instructions to the army in Ireland, and was rewarded, December, 1647, for his loyal and faithful services, by being created Lord Cochrane of Dundonald. Devoted to the kingly cause, he was appointed Colonel of one of the two regiments raised in Ayrshire in support of the movement known as "the Engagement" for the purpose of freeing the Sovereign from the imprisonment to which he was being subjected in England by the Parliamentary party. The expedition, never fit for the task to which it had set itself, and steadily weakened by desertions, marched to certain disaster. Lord Cochrane, more fortunate than the large majority of those who took part in it, escaped, and when he returned to Scotland the Presbytery of Ayr, then in the hands of the ultra-Presbyterian party, refused to allow him to renew the Solemn League and Covenant.

During the occupation of Scotland by the forces of the Commonwealth he seems to have either refrained from engaging in any public service, or to have been forbidden to do so, and it was not until Charles II. had

been crowned at Scone that his name again comes to the front. In 1651 he was busy with the affairs of Parliament, of the Army, and of the coinage, and later in the year he was exerting himself in Ayrshire and Renfrewshire to raise men for the army that was to be led by the King himself. Charles II., as shown by a letter to Lord Cochrane, was far from sanguine of the success of the undertaking, and the battle of Worcester, Cromwell's "crowning mercy," confirmed his worst fears. It was not till 1656 that the Scottish Parliament met again, and in the interval Lord Cochrane devoted himself to his own affairs. He bought the lordship of Paisley from the Earl of Angus for £160,000 Scots, and there he fixed his residence and lived in great splendour. Under Cromwell's Ordinance of Pardon and Grace to the People of Scotland he was fined in £6000 sterling, which was finally reduced to £1666 13s 4d. His abounding loyalty to the King was amply demonstrated by his handsome contribution of £20,000 to General Monck for the purpose of Charles's restoration. When the restoration had been effected he was raised to the dignity of Privy Councillor and Commissioner of Treasury and Excise in Scotland ; and in addition to these honours he was created Earl of Dundonald, Lord Cochrane of Paisley and Ochiltree. He died 1685, aged 80, and was buried at Dundonald. His wife, a daughter of Sir William Scott of Ardross and Elie, survived him.

Their family consisted of two sons, William, Lord Cochrane, and Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree, Knight, and founder of the line of Ochiltree (now Dundonald). The personality of Lord Cochrane was naturally overshadowed by that of his father, whom he predeceased. None the less he appears to have lived an active and a useful life. In 1660 he was Commissioner of Excise for Ayr and Renfrewshire ; in 1663 he was made a Justice of the Peace ; in 1672 he was one of the Commissioners to the estates of the Duke and Duchess of Monmouth and Buccleuch ; and before 1675 he had been made a Privy Councillor. When the Government resolved to

punish Ayrshire for the persistency with which it clung to the holding of conventicles, Lord Cochrane was one of the "party" who, representing nearly the whole body of the people, nobility, gentry and all, protested against the threatened injustice, and he was appointed spokesman of the nine Commissioners who were sent to Edinburgh to lay their views before Lord Lauderdale. Satisfied of the peaceableness of the country, and that the intrusion of the Highland Host could only result in harm, they "deprecated that severe procedure of sending among them so inhumane and barbarous a crew." Lauderdale refused even to see them or to delay the execution of the measures resolved upon. Lord Cochrane's wife was a daughter of John, the sixth Earl of Cassillis, by whom he had a family of four sons and three daughters. His second son, William, was a Jacobite and voted against the Act of Union. His wife was a daughter of the second Marquis of Montrose. His third son, David, is believed to have married the daughter and heiress of Sir David Cuninghame of Robertland. His eldest daughter married Alexander, ninth Earl of Eglinton; his second, John, fifteenth Earl of Sutherland; and his third, John Graham of Claverhouse, first Viscount of Dundee, whom she survived. The Viscountess afterwards married the third Viscount of Kilsyth, and she and her infant son were killed, in 1695, by the fall of a house in Utrecht. Lord Cochrane died at Paisley, August, 1679, and was buried at Dundonald.

Lord Cochrane's brother, Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree, had also an interesting career. Entering upon the Ochiltree estate, and receiving the honour of Knighthood, he was returned to Parliament in 1669 as representative of Ayrshire. Strong in his Covenanting sympathies, it was not long before he had to pay the price of them. For nonconformity he and his parish were fined three thousand merks; and Ochiltree and Auchinleck between them had to pay £5211 7s 8d as their share in the cost of the Highland Host. In the "account of the losses sustained by the quartering,

robbing, and spoiling of the soldiers and Highland Host, 1678," drawn up by the noblemen and gentlemen of the shire, the exactions upon Ochiltree and Auchinleck are thus catalogued—and they are a fair representation of many similar entries relating to Ayrshire :—

"The parishes of Ochiltree and Auchinleck sustained of loss, by quartering two hundred and forty of Perth's foot from February 5th to February 24th, nineteen days, besides officers, £1368. By quartering eighty Perthshire gentlemen, allowing but one servant to each, and reckoning both at 24s each day, from February 5th to February 25th, is £1920. By quartering sixty foot from February 25th to March 5th, eight days, is £144. Exacted of money and plunder by the former, £1170 14s 4d. Plundered in money and goods by soldiers passing through, or by those quartered in adjacent places, £432 6s 8d. By quartering two hundred and forty Caithness men one night, £72. Exacted by them of money, £68 6s 8d. Three horses taken by Strathmore's men, for recovering of which was expended £36. Which, besides baggage, horses, and other horses ridden down by them, extends to £5211 7s 8d."

Sir John suffered in person as well as in money and goods. He was put to the horn. This notwithstanding, he was at the Battle of Bothwell Bridge, and, more fortunate than many others, made good his escape. With the Duke of Hamilton and others he went south in the hope of persuading the King to be more lenient in his dealings with his Scottish subjects, but without success. Next we find him involved in the Rye House plot, the milder side of which was to raise the nation in arms against the King, the extremer to use the Rye House farm in Hertfordshire as a rendezvous for lying in wait for the King and assassinating him on his way from Newmarket to London. With which side of the conspiracy Cochrane was involved does not appear—



probably the former and less compromising—but that he was a strong advocate of the physical force side is obvious from the fact that on his return to Scotland he cast in his lot with Argyll and, joining in the insurrection under that nobleman, made an independent attack on Greenock, in which he was worsted by the militia. Thoroughly compromised, he sought shelter at Cochrane Castle, where he was betrayed to the dragoons by his uncle's wife, and, together with his son John, arrested and imprisoned for treason. Early history represents him as having been condemned to death, but recent researches demonstrate that his sentence did not embrace more than forfeiture. His friends, however, were naturally fearful lest he should be executed; and obtaining his liberation, he and his son proceeded to London in the King's yacht, and, largely through the influence of the Earl of Dundonald and a heavy financial payment, secured their freedom, and, after the Revolution, the estates. In 1693 he became a farmer of the Poll Tax, a highly unpopular exaction by which men were assessed per head according to their means. Sir John's son was served heir to him in 1707, and it is assumed, therefore, that he died that year, leaving two sons and one daughter.

As has just been said, Sir John Cochrane's friends were seriously alarmed lest the King should order his execution for his share in the rising under Argyll; and in connection with this the romantic story is told of how his daughter, Grizel, afterwards the wife of George, Lord Ross, was instrumental in saving his life by the hazardous plan of robbing the mail. According to this, Grizel, mounted on a powerful horse, and armed with a pair of pistols, rode out of the city of Edinburgh and held her way for the borderland. At the house of her old nurse, four miles beyond the Berwick walls, she obtained a suit of men's clothes, and then proceeded to Belford, where the post boy, on his way from London, was due at six o'clock in the morning. By the time she had reached the Belford changehouse the post boy had



arrived, and was lying asleep, with his pistols at his side and ready to hand, and the mail bags under his head. By a stratagem she persuaded the woman who kept the hostelry to leave the house in order to bring her fresh water from the well, and during her absence drew the charges from the post boy's pistols. This done she rode off, and availing herself of a crossroad, reached the King's highway in time to foregather with the post boy, to whose company she joined herself. They rode together until they came to a lonely stretch of the turnpike, when Grizel, assuming an air of determination, demanded the letter bags. The post boy responded to the illegal demand by drawing one of his pistols, and, observing his companion to have done likewise, he discharged it at her head. There was a flash in the pan—nothing more. Throwing away the weapon, the post boy drew the other pistol, and attempted to use it, with a like result ; then, being a man of action, he threw himself from his horse and attempted to grasp the reins of that of his antagonist. But Grizel was too quick for him. By a clever manœuvre she managed to induce the post boy to follow her, and when she had succeeded in doing so to the extent sufficient to make her ruse a success, she dashed back to where the mail carrier's horse was standing, seized him by the bridle, and galloped off. The rest was easy. In the shelter of a friendly wood Grizel cut the bags open, and found the missive from the Crown that would have sent her father to the scaffold, and, returning to the house of her nurse, consigned it to the flames. On her arrival in Edinburgh, to which she at once hastened, she told her mother what she had done. Steps were immediately taken to make appeal to the King, by means of those financial considerations that much approved themselves to His Majesty at the time, with the result that Sir John Cochrane was liberated.

It does not follow that because there is no record of Grizel's ride in the muniments of the Cochranes the ride did not take place. For obvious reasons the Cochranes

could not proclaim the illegal action pursued by the young lady, and it is certain that the story found general acceptance when, after the Revolution, it became safe to have it bruited abroad. According to a contemporary writer, "the English Packet coming to Edinburgh was twice stopped and robbed about Alnwick," and some said "it was by Sir John Cochrane's friends, lest there should have been any warrant from the King by these packets to have executed him." We may not therefore dismiss as mythical a story that was current and accepted during Grizel's own life, and that would, from the consequences it would have involved, have been sure to be contradicted in the interest both of Sir John Cochrane and his daughter, if there had been absolutely no truth in it.

John, second Earl of Dundonald, was educated at Glasgow College, where his name appears, December, 1676. When his father died three years later, he went to reside with his mother, Lady Katherine Kennedy, at Auchans, the manor house of Cochrane. In 1685 he was made a Commissioner of Supply for Ayrshire and Renfrewshire. During the same year, when acting as captain of a troop of Militia on the occasion of the Argyll invasion—an invasion in which Sir John Cochrane joined—he captured the fugitive Earl, and, after conveying him to the Place of Paisley, sent him on to Edinburgh in his father's coach. The expedition of Argyll, prosecuted in connection with that of the Duke of Monmouth in the south, was untimely planned. Two months after his landing on the shores of England Monmouth ended his days on Tower Hill. Argyll fared no better. Contrary to the advice of Sir John Cochrane, who was in favour of raising the western shires, the Earl insisted on beginning operations in his own country and among his clansmen. From the start everything went ill with him. Disputes multiplied, the Earl had not sufficient character for a desperate adventure of this kind, the leaders came to an open rupture, and Argyll finally was reduced to seek safety without a

single attendant. At Inchinnan ford, on the Cart, Lord Cochrane and his men came upon him, and he was struck to the ground. In falling, he exclaimed "Unfortunate Argyll!" It is said that some of the militia were much concerned, and even wept, when they realised who it was that had fallen into their hands, but they dared not let him go; and, taken to Edinburgh, he was condemned to the scaffold.

In 1685, on the death of his grandfather, Lord Cochrane succeeded to the Earldom. He was one of the Scottish nobles who went south to confer with William of Orange on his arrival in England, and he signed the letter of congratulation which the Scottish Estates sent to His Majesty in 1689. On account of the disturbed condition of the country at the time the various districts were put into a condition of defence, and the Earl was captain of the troop of horse that was raised in the bailliary of Kyle, Lord Montgomerie, his brother-in-law, acting as his lieutenant. When the Estates adjourned in 1689 the Earl was a member of the committee to which was entrusted the executive during the adjournment. From attendance at the first Parliament of William and Mary he was excused on the ground of ill-health, and from that period until his death, May 17, 1690, he does not appear to have taken part in any public business. By his wife, Susannah Hamilton, daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton, he had two sons, who became in succession third and fourth Earls of Dundonald, and a daughter, who, there is reason to conclude, died young.

William, the third Earl of Dundonald, was but four years old at the time of his father's death. He was served heir to the titles and estates. He did not, however, long enjoy his possessions, as he died at Paisley, 1705, aged nineteen years. John, the fourth Earl, born 1689, entered Glasgow University at the age of twelve. In 1694 he was appointed a Commissioner of Supply for Renfrewshire, an office which he held until the following year, when taxation in Scotland was placed upon an

Imperial basis. After the Union he voted at the first election of Representative Peers, but his vote was disallowed on account of his being under age. Unable, therefore, to take any part in politics, he devoted his energies to his own affairs, and to the business of his immediate neighbourhood, and reconstructed, enlarged, and beautified the Place of Paisley. In 1713 the Earl was appointed a Representative Peer for Scotland; in 1716 he succeeded the Duke of Argyll as Colonel of the 4th Scottish Horse Guards; and in 1717-18 he was at Hampton Court as Lord-in-Waiting, probably in the household of the Prince of Wales. In June, 1720, a life of philanthropic usefulness, of great promise, and of domestic felicity was brought suddenly to a close by the Earl's death. He was twice married, first, at the age of seventeen, to Anne, second daughter of the Earl of Dunmore, a lady famous for her beauty, and very devout and charitable, by whom he had one son and three daughters, the latter also remarkable for their beauty, which was celebrated by Hamilton of Bangour in a poem to their honour, and by a French writer in his *L'eloge d'Ecosse et des Dames Ecossaises* as *beautez du premier rang*. The first of these married James, fifth Duke of Hamilton; the second, Charles, sixth Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorn, and, after the Earl's death, Mr. George Forbes, her factor and Master of the Horse to the Chevalier St. George; and the third, Alexander Lord Garlies, afterwards sixth Earl of Galloway. The Earl's second wife was Mary Osborne, second daughter of the second Duke of Leeds, by whom he had no issue.

William, fifth Earl of Dundonald, born in 1708, appears to have been weakly throughout his life, and a few years after his succession he made a deathbed settlement in favour of his cousin, Thomas Cochrane of Kilmaronock, by which he constituted him heir of entail and sole executor. Two days after the execution of this deed, January 27, 1725, the Earl died at the age of seventeen.

It was not without trouble that Thomas Cochrane established his right of succession. The young Earl's father had, in consequence of his son's physical weakness, executed a deed in 1716 in favour of the heirs male of his eldest daughter, Anne (afterwards Duchess of Hamilton); and litigation ensued in consequence. That resulted in Thomas Cochrane being put in possession of the title and entailed estate, and the Duchess of Hamilton's son, the Marquess of Clydesdale, heir of provision to the unentailed property. The sixth Earl of Dundonald died at Paisley, 1737. His wife, Catherine, second daughter of Lord Basil Hamilton of Baldoon, sixth son of the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton, survived her husband forty-two years. Their family consisted of two sons and three daughters. The second son and two of the daughters died unmarried; the remaining daughter married William Wood of Nether Gallowhill and had issue.

William, seventh Earl of Dundonald, born at Paisley, 1729, was eight years old at the time of his father's death. When he was sixteen years of age he took part in a spirited adventure in connection with the rising of the "Forty-five" that might have resulted more seriously than it did. His cousin and trustee, William Cochrane of Ferguslie, was a man of pronounced Jacobite sympathies, and he openly espoused the cause of Prince Charles Edward. The young Earl shared in Ferguslie's attachment to the house of Stuart, and, escaping from his curators, he hired a horse at Glasgow and set out for Edinburgh one Sunday morning. Reaching the capital by nightfall, he concluded that it might be less compromising to enter in company than alone, and accordingly attached himself to a coach and six containing Lochiel's wife and children. On their arrival at the West Port, which was in charge of Highlanders attached to the Prince, Lord Dundonald's man called out to them in a loud voice to open the gate to some of the Prince's people. The voice reached the castle above, which was being held for the Government

by General Preston, and three guns were promptly loaded with grape, depressed, and fired at the cavalcade, with the result that the man who had called out was killed, and Lord Dundonald's horse was shot under him. The Earl remained in Edinburgh for two days, but did not join the Jacobite army. In 1750 he crossed over to Holland and attached himself to the Scots Hollanders, then commanded by Major-General Stuart. Three years later he had returned to Scotland and was taking an active part in the improvement of the town of Paisley. Joining the 17th Foot, he embarked for America in 1757, and the following year found him at Louisberg, a fortress on Cape Breton Island. In an attack on the island, 1758, he was killed, at the age of twenty-nine.

By his death the title passed to his cousin, Major Thomas Cochrane of Culross and Ochiltree, the grandson of Sir John Cochrane. Entering the Army as a cornet in the Royal Dragoons, he became Fort-Major of Fort St. Philip in Minorca. On his return to Britain, 1715, he obtained a commission, 1716, in the 27th Foot; he became Member of Parliament for Renfrewshire, 1722; and in 1730 he was appointed a Commissioner of Excise for Scotland, on which board he sat for many years. He was in residence in Edinburgh during the rising of 1745 and took a leading part in urging the defence of the city, or, failing the possibility of its defence, the destruction or storage of the King's arms, so that they should not fall into the hands of the rebels. The Earl purchased the estate of Grange of Romanno, afterwards known as La Mancha, in the Newlands parish of Peeblesshire, which he greatly improved, and there he died, June 27, 1778. The eighth Earl was twice married. His first wife was a daughter of James Ker of Moriestoun and Grizel Cochrane (daughter of Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree), and she died in 1743; his second, Jean, daughter of Archibald Stuart of Torrance, in the county of Lanark, a lady who was the subject of eulogy by many writers, survived her husband by many years, and died in London at the age of eighty-six, in March,



1808. The Earl had no fewer than fourteen children, twelve sons and two daughters. Of the sons, four died young. The third, Archibald, became ninth Earl; the fourth, Charles, was aide-de-camp to Lord Cornwallis, and was killed at New York, 1791; the fifth, John, was Deputy-Commissary to the forces in North Britain, 1793; the sixth, James Atholl, was vicar of Mansefield; the seventh, Basil, was in the Madras Civil Service; the tenth, Alexander Forrester Inglis had a distinguished naval career, attained to the rank of Admiral and to the dignity of G.C.B.; the eleventh, George Augustus Frederick, Lieutenant-Colonel, was M.P. for Grampound; and the twelfth, Andrew James Cochrane Johnstone, married, first, a daughter of the third Earl of Hopetoun, and, second, the only child and heiress of Baron de Clugny, Governor of Guadaloupe. The elder daughter died unmarried; the younger became the wife of Patrick Heron of Heron.

Archibald, ninth Earl of Dundonald, second but eldest surviving son, was born January 1, 1748. He entered the Army in 1764, but, preferring the Navy, became a midshipman under Captain Stair Douglas. It was not in the fighting service of his country, however, that the Earl was destined to make his mark. While serving on the coast of New Guinea, he displayed conspicuous gifts of scientific observation. Returning to Scotland, he took up his residence at Culross Abbey, devoted himself to the development of the surrounding coalfields, and made important discoveries in relation to coal products, for which, in 1785, he obtained, by Act of Parliament, a twenty years' exclusive use in the British dominions. He was the first to apply coal tar to ship's bottoms, which up till then had been subject to the ravages of worms; discovered the use of coal gas with which, by the aid of a gun barrel, he vividly illuminated the shores of the Forth; and devoted himself to the chemistry of manufacture in the production of the carbonate of soda, alumina, sal ammoniac, and other chemicals used in manufacture, which he patented,

and regarding which he wrote numerous pamphlets. He studied and published a treatise on the connection of agriculture with chemistry. He recognised the use of salt refuse as a manure, and demonstrated the value of malted grain as a food for cattle. Neither of those schemes, nor any of his patents, ever recouped him, however, for the vast sums he spent in study, and in experiment, though, since his day, their value has been amply demonstrated, and the end of a busy and useful life found him in great poverty. In 1823 he was granted a pension by the Literary Fund Society. The Earl, who died July 1, 1831, was thrice married. His first wife was Anne, daughter of Captain Gilchrist, of Annsfield, R.N. ; his second, Isabella, daughter of Samuel Raymond of Belchamp Hall, Essex ; and his third, Anna Maria, daughter of Francis Plowden, LL.D., an Irish historian. By the first he had six sons and one daughter ; by the last, one daughter.

Thomas, tenth Earl of Dundonald, was born at Annsfield, in Lanarkshire, December 14, 1775, and became known throughout the world as an Admiral of the highest rank. He was originally intended for the Army, but his inclinations tended towards the Navy, and in 1793 he joined the fleet as a Midshipman. Having served in the fjords of Norway, on the North American station, and in the Mediterranean, he was appointed to the command of the "Speedy."

Even for those days, the "Speedy" was a burlesque of a vessel. She was no more than 158 tons burden, and of the size of an ordinary coasting brig. Her timbers were so weak that she could not stand the concussion from the discharge of any cannon big enough to be effective, and her armament consisted of fourteen four-pounders. Having lost her main-yard, the authorities ordered the foretopgallant-yard of a large vessel, the "Genereux," to be supplied in its room. This was regarded by the authorities as too large, and instructions were given to have it shortened. Lord Cochrane had the yard planed to look as if it had been

cut, and his evasion passed undetected ; and he thus obtained greater speed than he would otherwise have been able to do had the yard been cut as ordered.

With this wretched apology for a man-of-war, crowded rather than manned with a crew of eighty-four men and six officers, Cochrane literally wrought wonders. On May 10, 1800, he captured the "Intrepide," a French privateer of six guns and forty-eight men ; on June 18 he captured a "tartan" off Elba ; June 22, a prize from a French privateer ; June 25, cut out the "Ascuncion," a Spanish vessel of ten guns and thirty-three men from under the guns of a fort at Bastia and beat off five gunboats that attempted the recapture of the vessel ; July 9, cut out a vessel from under the guns of the San Sebastian fort ; July 19, off Caprera, captured the French privateer, the "Constitution," of one gun and nineteen men ; July 27, sunk a privateer off Planosa ; July 31, captured a prize from a French privateer ; August 21, captured a French privateer bound from Corsica to Toulon ; and so continued until at the end of a thirteen months by no means unbroken cruise, he had taken or retaken upwards of fifty vessels, 122 guns, and 534 prisoners. Cochrane's tactics were always adapted to suit circumstances. Thus, when he discovered what he had taken to be a well-laden merchantman was in reality a heavily armed Spanish frigate, he had the "Speedy" painted in imitation of a Danish brig. He had a Danish quartermaster, whom he rigged out in an officer's uniform, and ran up a quarantine flag ; and when the frigate's boat came within hail, the Dane told the Spaniards that they were only two days out from Algiers, where at the time the Plague was violently raging. That was enough for the Spaniard, and he made off.

On another occasion, when the crew of the "Speedy" had been reduced to fifty-four, officers and boys included, Cochrane fell in with the Spanish frigate "Gamo," of 32 heavy guns and 319 men. He reserved his fire till he was close under her lee, then ran alongside of her and locked his yards in those of the enemy. A discharge

from his popgun four-pounders, doubly and trebly shotted, killed the Spanish captain and boatswain, and wounded a number of the crew ; while the shot from the Spanish guns, high above the little brig, passed over the heads of Cochrane's men. The Spaniards received orders to board, but Cochrane managed to disentangle and to sheer off and to give the "Gamo" a volley of musketry and a broadside. So unequal a fight, however, could not last long, and Cochrane resolved on the desperate expedient of boarding, and in a few seconds every man, except the ship's doctor, who took the wheel, was on the Spaniard's deck. By Cochrane's orders the portion of the crew who were to board by the head had blackened their faces, and when they emerged from the smoke forward, yelling like demons, the Spaniards were filled with superstitious dread of them ; and before they could well recover, the remainder of the "Speedy's" men had fallen upon them with desperate ardour. To confuse the enemy still more, Cochrane had the "Gamo's" flag hauled down, and the Spaniards, thinking that it had been done by their own officers, gave in. Cochrane gave the Spanish captain, at his own request, a certificate that "he had conducted himself like a true Spaniard," with which commendation the Don was much gratified. As has been said, the "Speedy's" armament consisted of fourteen four-pounders, with muzzles no bigger than a blunderbuss ; the "Gamo" carried twenty-two twelve-pounders, eight eight-pounders, and two twenty-four pounder carronades. To the "Gamo's" crew of 319 the "Speedy" opposed 54. The "Gamo" threw a broadside of 190 lbs., the "Speedy" of 28 lbs. The tonnage of the "Gamo" was upwards of 600, of the "Speedy," 158. In the engagement the "Speedy" had three seamen killed, and one officer and seventeen men wounded ; the "Gamo's" loss was the captain, the boatswain, and thirteen seamen killed, and forty-one wounded, her casualties thus exceeding the whole number of officers and crew on board the "Speedy."

Notwithstanding the speculations of the Mediterranean Admiralty Courts, the members of which absorbed the greater portion of the captures, Cochrane obtained a considerable amount of prize money, and every member of the crew had a larger share than the ordinary pay of officers. In July, 1801, Cochrane sighted three vessels which he took to be Spanish galleons from South America, and the "Speedy" was prepared to give chase, but they turned out to be line-of-battle ships, and although he did all he could to escape, he was compelled to strike his flag to the French vessel "Dessaix," the captain of which refused to accept the sword of "an officer who had for so many hours struggled against impossibility." Cochrane's imprisonment was of short duration.

Brilliant as Cochrane's career had been up to this time, it failed of the recognition to which he thought, and no doubt justly thought, himself entitled. That official jealousy was at work cannot be doubted. Lord Cochrane's nature was of the very sort that was likely to come into conflict with the methods of the naval system of the day. He was as frank and outspoken as he was fearless, and he carried his courage into his correspondence as well as into his speech. Instead of being sent back to sea on his promotion to post-captain, he was allowed to spend half a year as a student at Edinburgh University, and was then appointed to a "collier," the "Arab," and despatched on a mission to protect non-existent Orkney fisheries! In this service he spent fifteen months. The Board of Admiralty had, as he says, fairly caught him, and had condemned him to "naval exile in a tub regardless of expense to the nation."

The retreat of Lord St. Vincent from the Admiralty and the appointment of Lord Melville in his room was followed by Cochrane's appointment to the "Pallas," a new frigate of thirty-two guns, and by another period of great activity. His captures included the "Carolina," bound from the Havannah to Cadiz and laden with a valuable cargo; a second vessel containing, besides a

rich general cargo, some diamonds and ingots of gold and silver; the "Fortune," with a large quantity of dollars; and a Spanish letter-of-marque with more dollars. In April, 1805, after little more than a two months' cruise, the "Pallas" came sailing into Plymouth Sound, with a tall gold candlestick at each masthead, and with enormous wealth in prize money, Cochrane's own share being no less than £75,000.

The same year Cochrane stood as Radical candidate for Honiton, and was beaten. He refused point blank to bribe any of the electors, but after the result had been declared he sent the bellman round the town to intimate that "all who had voted for him might repair to his agent and receive ten pounds ten!" This ensured his abounding popularity; it was double the sum paid for votes by the successful candidate, and it was meant to pave the way for subsequent candidature in the event of his determining to contest a second time the representation of Honiton.

Back to the "Pallas," Lord Cochrane resumed his nautical activity. Among his many deeds of daring was the cutting out of a French corvette from the mouth of the Garonne. In this enterprise he employed all the crew of the "Pallas" except about forty men. While Cochrane lay waiting on the return of the expedition, three French ships of war came upon the scene. He had hardly sufficient men to man his bow guns, nevertheless, by an admixture of daring and audacity he succeeded in compelling the captains of the three corvettes to run them ashore. "The mere semblance of strength," he says, "saved us and the panic thereby inspired destroyed the enemy."

On the termination of the cruise, Lord Cochrane in 1806 again offered himself as candidate for Honiton and secured an easy and a cheap return. He refused to pay a penny for votes, but consented to give the community a public treat, and the result showed itself in a bill for about £1200! This he for a time refused to pay, but he was eventually compelled to liquidate the extravagant



exaction. At the General Election of 1807 he stood for Westminster, and was returned at the head of the poll, with Sir Francis Burdett for a colleague, the Right Hon. Brinsley Sheridan being at the bottom of the poll. When Parliament met Lord Cochrane lost no time in opening out, with greater zeal than discretion, upon naval abuses, with the result that he was at once ordered off to the Mediterranean.

Passing by many adventures of a characteristically daring character, we come to April, 1809, when Cochrane was selected by the Admiralty for the hazardous service of burning the French fleet of fifteen sail (848 guns), then blockaded in Aix Roads by a stronger force under Lord Gambier. Here again Cochrane had to contend with officialism and with its resultant delays. The French vessels were protected by a powerful boom, and when the Admiral realised that the danger that threatened him was from fire ships, he had his topmasts sent down, and his formation changed so as to present the least possible exposure to the enemy. Besides that, the weather, which had been favourable, broke, and the venture was carried out under circumstances that militated in every way against the chances of success. Cochrane's plan was to explode the boom, so as to give entrance to the fire ships, and he himself personally commanded one of the explosion vessels. This contained fifteen hundred barrels of powder, hundreds of shells, and thousands of hand-grenades, the whole wedged together as nearly as possible into a solid mass. The night was dark, and the wind blew hard.

When Cochrane thought the time had come for action, he himself lighted the time fuses, and then, with his four men, jumped into a boat and made all haste to escape. The fuses, calculated to burn fifteen minutes, lasted little more than half that time ; and to the consternation of the daring adventurers, the explosion occurred before they were well away from the spot. For a moment the sky was red with the lurid glare, then the air was alive with shells, grenades, rockets, and masses of timber, the

wreck of the shattered vessel ; the sea rose and was convulsed as by an earthquake ; the boom was broken ; and Cochrane had the satisfaction of seeing two of the fire ships sail over the spot where it had been. So bungled had the other arrangements been, that of more than twenty fire ships only four reached the enemy's position, and not one of them did any damage. The result of the explosion, however, was that, with two exceptions, all the French ships were discovered next morning to be aground ; but Lord Gambier, strange to say, though six times urged by Cochrane to do so, did not take any steps to complete the destruction, and had it not been that Cochrane single-handed engaged the foe and destroyed four of his vessels, the fleet would in all probability have escaped altogether. It was the last blow he was to strike for Britain.

In the House of Commons Lord Cochrane protested against Lord Gambier receiving the thanks of Parliament for services which in his judgment did not warrant any such high recognition. His own gallantry was frankly enough admitted by the Ministry, and he was given the Knighthood of the Bath, but the Government had his name excluded from the vote of thanks, and he was put upon half pay. This enabled him to pursue his career as a naval reformer. He does not appear to have been much of an orator, and he seems to have forgotten that Parliamentary success calls for the exercise of other qualities than courage, strong conviction, and strength of language. That he was in the right is indisputable. The Ministerial press assailed him vehemently, however, and misrepresented his actions in every possible way. He had his friends in Parliament, but they were comparatively few. His constituents, however, stood by him manfully, so did his colleague, Sir Francis Burdett, and Mr. Wyndham, and he was not without his friends in the Upper House as well ; but all his efforts were in vain, and he was compelled to recognise the futility of his exertions and to fall back upon the consolation that "one day," as he told the House of Commons, "the

public would judge from the facts, though the House would not ; that the public would not submit to have its eyes bound because the House chose to keep theirs shut."

A worse misfortune was in store for Lord Cochrane than the failure of Parliament to recognise his services. A lying rumour of Napoleon's overthrow sent up the funds, and Cochrane found himself in June, 1814, in the dock as a fraudulent stock-jobber charged with propagating the rumour and selling out upwards of a million sterling, with a gross profit of £10,000. There were associated with him, as sharers in the alleged offence, two others, both of whom were undeniably guilty. Cochrane was as unquestionably innocent, but through the exertions of his judge, Lord Ellenborough, a verdict was procured against him, and he was sentenced to pay a fine of £1000, to suffer a year's imprisonment in the King's Bench, and to stand for an hour in the pillory. The last part of the sentence was remitted, but his name was struck off the Navy list, he was expelled from Parliament, and he was formally degraded from his Knighthood. It was not until July of the following year that he could be persuaded to pay his fine, which he did with a Bank of England thousand pound note, on which he wrote :—" My health having suffered by long and close confinement, and my oppressors being resolved to deprive me of my property or life, I submit to robbery to protect myself from murder, in the hope that I shall live to bring the delinquents to justice." When his sentence of imprisonment had run for nine months, he broke out of gaol, and reappeared in the House—to which he had been re-elected by his friends in Westminster—to be torn thence by tipstaves, lodged in the strong room for the three months of his sentence yet to run, and fined anew in £100. This fine his constituents promptly paid.

Weary of inactivity and of fruitless attempts at self-justification, nearly ruined by law expenses, fines, and deprivation of pay, and in despair of surmounting

the unmerited obloquy which had befallen him at home, Lord Cochrane accepted, in 1819, an invitation from the Chilian Government to aid in its war of independence, waged in conjunction with Peru, against Spain. In the seas that wash the western main of South America he resumed his career of naval enterprise and daring. As commander-in-chief of the navy, he stormed with no more than 300 men the fifteen strong forts of Valdiva, he cut out a frigate from the batteries of Callao, and in two and a half years made Chili mistress of her own waters, and her flag respected from Cape Horn to Panama. Save the Marquisate of Maranhão, he reaped no reward for his services. In 1823 he entered the service of the Emperor of Brazil, became that country's "first Admiral" and the father of the Brazilian Navy, which owed its creation to his administrative abilities, and received the Grand Cross of the Cruzeiro of Brazil from the Emperor. From 1825 to 1827 he was in command of the Greek Navy, but could do little or nothing for the cause of Greek independence, from lack both of ships and of men.

Returning to Great Britain Cochrane succeeded his father as tenth Earl of Dundonald in 1831, and in 1832, when he demanded a reinvestigation of his trial, he received a "free pardon" and was eventually restored to his rank in the Navy. He was reinstated in the Order of the Bath, created G.C.B., 1847, and gazetted as Rear-Admiral, 1854. From 1848 to 1851 he was Commander-in-Chief on the West Indian and North American station. Retaining all his energy, he devoted himself to the mechanical inventions for which he had inherited his father's genius, and urged strongly upon the Government the advisability of adopting steam power in the fleet. When the war with Russia broke out he furnished the Government with "secret" plans for the destruction of the Russian Navy; these were admitted to be infallible, but they were on such a scale and involved such terrible consequences that the Government shrank from adopting them. He died in

London, October 31, 1860, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where his grave is still an object of pilgrimage to the grateful Brazilians, whose representatives yearly place a wreath on the spot.

The facts of the life of this extraordinary man are their own best comment. That he was one of the greatest sailors of any age has long since been universally admitted. He had no doubt his faults of temperament. Nevertheless, even at this lapse of time, it is difficult to refrain from a feeling of resentment against the men who interposed their jealousies and their officialism between a man fit for so much and the service of the country of which he was so proud. With a single frigate, as Lord Collingwood said, he did the work of an army by keeping the French army from over-running the Mediterranean coast of Spain. Yet neither for this, nor for the destruction of the French navy, did he ever receive either reward or thanks.

By his wife, Katherine Frances Corbett, daughter of Thomas Barnes of Romford, Essex, who survived him, and died January 25, 1865, the tenth Earl had issue four sons and two daughters. His second son, Horatio Bernardo William, served in the 92nd Gordon Highlanders and died 1900; his third, Sir Arthur Auckland Leopold Pedro, distinguished himself at the siege of Acre, commanded H.M.S. Niger, was wounded at the destruction of the Chinese fleet, June, 1857, rose to the position of Admiral, and died 1905; and his fourth, Ernest Grey Lambton, is captain, R.N.

Thomas Barnes, eleventh Earl of Dundonald, born 1814, entered the 66th Foot, served with that regiment through the Canadian rebellion of 1837-38, joined the China expedition, 1841, and was present at the investment of Nankin, and in 1846 was appointed Quarter-master-General to the forces in China. Pursuing scientific studies, he patented improvements in the production of hydro-carbons and also from bituminous substances. He was a Representative Peer of Scotland. He died January 15, 1885. By his wife, Louisa Harriet,

daughter of William MacKinnon of MacKinnon, he had issue three sons and four daughters. His third son, Thomas Horatio Arthur Ernest, Member of Parliament for North Ayrshire since 1892, was born 1857, and educated at Eton; was formerly in the 93rd Highlanders, and served in the Scots Guards and in the 4th Battalion of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders; served in South Africa as Assistant Provost-Marshall, 1900; Justice of Peace for Fifeshire; Deputy-Lieutenant for Renfrewshire; and was Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department, 1902-1906. He married, 1880, Gertrude, eldest daughter of the seventh Earl of Glasgow, and has issue four sons and four daughters.

The twelfth, and present, Earl of Dundonald, Douglas MacKinnon Baillie Hamilton, C.V.O., C.B., was born October 29, 1852. Educated at Eton, he entered the Army in 1870. He went to the Soudan, 1884, in command of a detachment of the Camel Corps in the expedition for the relief of Khartoum, was mentioned in despatches for his distinguished services, and received the medal with two clasps and the Khedive's bronze star, with the brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel. He reached the rank of full Colonel in the Army, 1889, and in 1895 commanded the 2nd Life Guards. He went to Natal as a volunteer on the outbreak of the Boer war, 1899, and Sir Redvers Buller gave him the command of the mounted troops in Natal. In all the fighting of the Natal Army he took a prominent part, was mentioned six times in despatches, received the medal with six clasps, and was promoted to the rank of Major-General for distinguished service in the field. He succeeded to the title, 1885, and the same year was appointed a Representative Peer for Scotland. In July, 1902, he was gazetted to the command of the Canadian Militia, a position which he held till 1904. He is the author of a scheme, which has been adopted, for the reorganisation of the Canadian Militia, and of a new drill and training book, suitable for both cavalry and infantry, which is likely to have a very wide application. He reorganised the cadet corps



system, and created various other organisations for the improvement of the militia. The Earl is also the author of numerous inventions of considerable value. He married, 1878, Winifred, daughter of R. Bamford-Hesketh of Gwrych Castle, Abergele, and has issue two sons and three daughters. His eldest son, Thomas Hesketh Douglas Blair, Lord Cochrane, was born February 21, 1886; his younger son, Douglas Robert Hesketh Roger, June 24, 1903. His eldest daughter, Grizel Winifred Louise, born 1880, was married, 1904, at Westminster Abbey, to Ralph Gerard Alexander Hamilton, Master of Belhaven, only son of Lord Belhaven and Stenton; his second, Jean Alice Elaine was born November 27, 1887; his third, Marjorie Gwendolen Elsie, December 18, 1889.

ARMS—Argent, a chevron gules, between three boars' heads erased azure. CREST—A horse passant argent. SUPPORTERS—Two greyhounds, argent, collared and lined or. MOTTO—*Virtute et Labore*.

## CHAPTER XI

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### HAMILTON, LORD BARGANY

It was in 1624 that Sir John Hamilton of Lettrick, natural son of John, first Marquess of Hamilton, received a charter of the lands of Bargany and other lands in Ayrshire. He died soon after 1637, and was succeeded by his eldest son, who was created a Peer of Scotland, under the title of Lord Bargany, in 1841. Identified with the Royalist cause, he accompanied the first Duke of Hamilton into England on his ill-starred expedition, and, taken prisoner, was detained at Ashby and other places for a year. Later, he went to the Netherlands to attend upon the King, who sent him to Scotland to raise forces for His Majesty's restoration. In 1651, when Charles marched into England, Bargany was despatched to the north of Scotland to procure maintenance for the Royalist cause and to raise a second levy. Again misfortune befel him. Taken prisoner at Elliott, in Perthshire, the same year, he was imprisoned for twelve months in the Tower. Obviously he was regarded as a dangerous person by Cromwell, for when the Protector in 1654 issued his Act of Grace and Pardon, he was exempted from its terms. He died April, 1568. His wife was a daughter of the first Marquess of Douglas.

John, the second Lord Bargany, was served heir to his father in 1662. Having identified himself with the Presbyterians during the persecution, he had to suffer

for his principles. His story is an interesting commentary on the length to which the persecution was carried even against those who had done nothing whatever that could reasonably be regarded as worthy of death or of bonds. There is no reason whatever to believe that he had committed any overt act in the struggle ; it was enough that he was recognised generally as a suspect. It seems as if it had occurred to Sir Charles Maitland of Hatton and Sir John Dalrymple that, by swearing away his good name and securing the confiscation of his estates, they might be able to enrich themselves by a share of the plunder. In Bargany, however, they encountered a man of resolute character, who had no mind to suffer for deeds that he had never done, and who was determined to have nothing else, and nothing less, than justice at the hands of the State. To begin with, it came to the ears of the authorities that he had favoured some of the people who had taken part in the affair—it can hardly be called the battle—of Bothwell Bridge. That was enough of itself to condemn any man, and he was accordingly apprehended and conveyed a prisoner to Blackness, a castle in Linlithgowshire, that served, like the Bass, as a State prison for the more distinguished sufferers in the Presbyterian cause. Examined by the Lord Advocate, he issued a declaration, and was informed by the Lord Advocate that he had been ordered by the King to proceed against him for having incited persons to rise against him in the late rebellion. As he was not forthwith brought to trial, he petitioned the authorities for his liberation, or that he should be brought to the bar of judgment for what he had done. The petition was laid before the Council, January 14, 1680, and is dealt with in their finding :—

“ Anent the petition of John, Lord Bargany, that he hath been now two months close prisoner in Blackness, occasioned by the suggestions and malicious information of his enemies, and he being conscious of

his innocence of any disloyalty that can be laid to his charge, and that in his heart he never did harbour, far less did he ever practice any evil against His Majesty, or Government, craving that he may either be liberate, or presently put to a trial ; and that in the meantime, or since his imprisonment, there may be no process or decreets of session moved in or given out to his prejudice, his adversaries at this time being ready to take advantage. The Council ordain the said lord to be brought to the castle of Edinburgh, whenever the Advocate hath prepared his indictment."

The process shows how flimsy was the case against Lord Bargany :—

"That in the year 1674, or 1675, he with great oaths and execrations did curse some of the chief nobility in the Kingdom, because they would not make themselves the head of the fanatics, and swore they would never signify anything because they lost that opportunity. And because his Grace the Duke of Lauderdale had, by his extraordinary care, prudence, and loyalty, defeated the designs which he and the said fanatics were managing for disturbing the government of the Church and State, he did, in the year 1677, or 1678, publicly regret that the English or fanatics did not kill or assassinate the said Duke of Lauderdale, and did hound out others to assassinate him. That in the year 1675, or 1676, he did endeavour to persuade George Martin, notar in Dailly, that the fanatics would never get their business done while the Duke of Lauderdale was alive ; and that a hundred men would do more by assaulting him in his own house at Letheingtoun than all they could do beside. Likeas Mr. John Welsh, a factious trumpet of sedition and treason, having made a trade of convocating the subjects in field meetings, the said lord did correspond with him ; and having direct a letter to him, while he and his accomplices were contriving another rebellion,

he did send the said letter to Sauchill by his own servant in May or June ; which being read at the said convocation as come from him, did encourage that rebellion. That he corresponded with Cunningham of Bedlan, desiring him to repair to the Westland army, and persuaded all gentlemen and others to join them, since he and persons of far greater quality would join ; that he gave no notice of his tenants who had been at the rebellion, but did entertain notour rebels in his own house ; that he did publicly maintain the principles of Naphtali, Jus Populi, Lex Rex, declaring that Scotland would never be well till it wanted Episcopacy, and the present government of the Church was destroyed as unfit for the nation. And in October or November last did openly disclaim against the sacred order and function of Episcopacy, swearing he would never be in peace till the curates were rooted out, and that they were all but knaves and rogues. Wherethrough he is guilty of treasonable crimes, art or part thereof, and ought to be punished with forfeiture of life."

There were lengthened debates by Lord Bargany's advocates on formalities and points of law. The Lord Advocate affirmed that he lacked some material witnesses, though he had used all diligence to get them ; and on this ground, and on the score of an informality, the hearing was adjourned till June, when the Lord Advocate added another charge to the libel to the effect "that in May or June of last year the Lord Bargany hearing of the murder of his Grace the late Archbishop of St. Andrews, said that 'it was happy, for he was a great enemy to the cause of God, and His people, the Kirk of Christ,' or some such words ; and that some, by his order, offered arms to people going to Bothwell Bridge." Meantime, however, Lord Bargany had found caution under a penalty of 50,000 merks to appear when called on to stand his trial ; and the diet was deserted simpliciter. Once Bargany was at liberty he discovered

that the charges against him had been trumped up at the instance of Sir Charles Maitland and Sir John Dalrymple, and he was prepared with his evidence to submit it to the Parliament of the following year, but the Duke of York interposed to prevent the inquiry. Lord Bargany entered heartily into the Revolution, and, 1689, raised a regiment of six hundred foot for the public service. He died 15th May, 1693, and was buried at Ballantrae. His wife was a daughter of William, ninth Earl of Glencairn, and by her he had a family of three sons and one daughter.

The lordship went to the second son, William, who was mainly distinguished by the opposition he offered in Parliament to the Treaty of Union. From him it passed to James, the fourth Lord, who was born in 1710 and succeeded his father the year following. He travelled abroad for a time with Hamilton of Bangour, who thus wrote of his companion :—

With Kind Bargany, faithful to his word,  
Whom heaven made good and social, though a lord,  
The cities viewed of many-languaged men.

With the death of the “ Kind Bargany ” at Edinburgh in 1736, in the twenty-sixth year of his age, the title lapsed.

The daughter of the second Lord Bargany, Johanna, born 1690, was heiress of Bargany. She married, 1707, Sir Robert Dalrymple of Castleton, Knight, eldest son and heir apparent of the Hon. Sir Hew Dalrymple, Bart., of North Berwick, Lord President of the Court of Session ; and her second son, John, born 1715, to whom the estates were adjudged by a decision of the House of Lords, took the name and arms of Hamilton of Bargany. The family motto is “ J’espere.”



## CHAPTER XII

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### THE FERGUSSONS OF KILKERRAN

The Fergusson clan is one of the most ancient in all Scotland. Its origin goes back into prehistoric times—that interesting period so fruitful of legend and of tradition, not always so unreliable as the historian would have us believe, who will accept nothing that he cannot demonstrate on evidence such as would find acceptance in a court of law.

That there were Fergussons in the ancient Dalriad Kingdom that had its seat in Argyllshire cannot be disputed, but whether the clan descended from King Fergus, who brought a band of Scots with him from Ireland to these parts in the end of the fifth century, must be left to conjecture. It may have been that the Fergussons were in the train of the Scots King when, sailing from Argyllshire, he descended with his warriors on the Ayrshire coast, and that the progenitor in Carrick of the Kilkerran family was there with the rest ; but if anything like a definite inference can be drawn at all, it would rather seem to be in the direction of assuming that the clan in the course of time settled in Athole and that the first Kilkerran was of this stock and arrived in Ayrshire somewhere about the days of Robert the Bruce. This conclusion is strengthened by the tradition that two sons of Baron Fergusson in Athole were obliged to abscond because in a fray with a neighbouring chieftain

they had slain him. One of them is said to have settled in Aberdeenshire, where a branch of the family has existed ever since; while the other came to Ayrshire and found a home by the streams of Girvan, where, in a long descent, the Fergussons have lived ever since. The time of their coming is uncertain; their association with the cause of Bruce and with the struggle for Scottish independence is a matter of history.

The name "Fergus" signifies "fierce," and this, according to the Celtic bards, was of old the leading characteristic of the clan. Thus M'Gregor, in his "Oran nan Fineachan," sings:—

Like a lion strong and fierce are they  
When they march on with glee,  
A helmet, spear, and coat of mail  
Was what they had of old.

And another Highland bard describes them as—

Sons of the men who never were unready  
(with their arms and armour),  
Who descended down from King Fergus,  
The first king who reigned over Alban.

A word as to the orthography of the name. The Kilkerran branch, and that of Craigdarroch in Dumfriesshire, always use the two "ss's:" on the other hand, the families sprung from the Aberdeenshire stock are almost universally content with one. But while that is so, three heads of the Kilkerran family were admitted to the Scottish bar as "Fergusone," or "Ferguson," and there are proofs that more than one of the Aberdeenshire men used the double "s." Like other ancient Scots families, the Fergusons, or Fergussons, availed themselves of a good deal of latitude in the matter of spelling. There was no rule of accuracy in orthography. At one time every man who could write was a law to himself in spelling; in proof of which the fact need only be recalled that the family name of the Montgomeries of Eglinton has in its time been spelt in no fewer than

forty-four different ways. The orthography cannot therefore be regarded as a matter of any great importance; it is enough to know that the Kilkerran family have so long adopted the double "s" that it may be regarded now as fixed and unalterable.

The first of the Ayrshire Fergussons to have his name identified was one Fergus Fergusson, and he only as having obtained a charter of certain lands in Ayrshire from Robert the Bruce. The fact of this charter stamps him as having been a man of some consequence in his day, and it is not unlikely that he was one of the adherents of the Earl of Carrick in the days when he was battling for the crown and for the independence of Scotland. It is not, however, until 1466 that we have indisputable evidence of the direct connection of the present Kilkerran family with these days of stress and turmoil in the history of the nation. At that time there was a John Fergusson in Kilkerran who made a family settlement in favour of his son Fergus, providing that if there were no heirs to the family possessions born to Fergus and his wife Janet Kennedy, the lands should return to the nearest heirs of the testator whomsoever. It was probably the same Fergus Fergusson who in 1483 obtained a decree ordaining that Effric M'Dowell should pay to him, as heir to his father, "the goods of heirschip, or the value of them as they might be proved before the Sheriff: that is to say, 12 silver spoons, a pot of a gallon, a ring of gold, a cross of gold, a gray horse." Passing over an undated Duncan Fergusson who, during the lifetime of his father owned "the place of Burnefute," we come to Barnard Fergusson, who seems to have taken part in the feudal strife of the period. In 1564 he was charged before the High Court of Justiciary, in company with his brothers Thomas and David and fifty-one others, with having come within the tolbooth of Ayr where the Sheriff-Deputies were sitting in judgment, and there "cruelly invaded John Crawford of Camlarg and others with drawn swords for their slaughter." In addition to the Kilkerran Fergussons the panels included Thomas.

Fergusson in the Traif, Hector Fergusson and Ninian his son, William Fergusson of Auchensoul, Duncan Fergusson of Glenbower, Kennedys from Drumellane, Balnaclannochan, Dalquharne, Bogend, and Girvanmains, and William Cunninghame of Cloncaird. There is no record of how the trial ultimately eventuated, but the probability is that justice was satisfied by the binding over of the offenders to keep the peace—possibly with the exaction also of a guarantee to compensate the persons assaulted.

Following Barnard Fergusson, who when he died left his wife, Christiane Forester, "his horse and his naig," came his son John, and after him Sir John Fergusson, a powerful supporter of the royalist cause in the days of Charles I. His services to the King were recognised by his having had the honour of knighthood conferred on him, but this somewhat barren honour must have been a poor compensation for the debts he incurred and for the losses he sustained in his attachment to the monarch. Cited before the Presbytery of Ayr, he was forced to admit that he had been with Alaster Macdonald at Kilmarnock and with Montrose at Loudoun Hill, but he denied that he ever had any intention of following Montrose, or the cause he represented, further. His assurances on this point did not suffice to ward off the inevitable censure that awaited those who elected to identify themselves with Charles I. Sir John did not any the more abstain from the active manifestation of his sympathies, and he had his estates sequestrated by Cromwell, and went abroad to reside until the Restoration, which he did not long survive. He was married to Helen Kennedy, daughter of Sir Thomas Kennedy of Culzean and widow of James Mure, younger of Auchendrane—the same Sir Thomas Kennedy who met his death near Ayr at the hands of a party of the Bargany factionaries instigated by the elder Mure, and the same James Mure who, in company with his father, was executed in Edinburgh for his share in what has come to be called the Tragedy of Auchendrane.

When the knight of Kilkerran died he was succeeded by his son Alexander, the eldest of three brothers who were captains in the King's service during the Civil Wars. This Alexander was followed by another Alexander, and in 1700 he and his son John sold the estate of Kilkerran to Sir John Fergusson, son of Simon of Auchenwin, an advocate of high reputation at the Scottish bar, and a man of considerable wealth. In 1703 he was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia, and in 1704 he was Agent for the town of Ayr. Sir John married Jean, a daughter of James Whitefoord of Dinduff, and, on his death in 1729, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir James Fergusson, an eminent lawyer, who became in 1749 a Judge both of the Court of Session and Court of Justiciary, with the title of Lord Kilkerran. Sir James attained a high reputation as a just, upright, and capable jurist. He gave great attention to the agricultural improvement of Ayrshire, and he set an example in the planting of trees on his estate that was a stimulus to his neighbours to do likewise. By his wife, Jean, only child of James, Lord Maitland, and grand-daughter of John, Earl of Lauderdale, he had nine sons and five daughters.

Of Sir James's sons, four of whom reached maturity, George attained to considerable fame as a Judge of the Court of Session. On his appointment to that office, 1799, in room of the notorious Lord Braxfield, he took the title of Lord Hermand from his estate in West Calder parish, Midlothian. In 1808 he became one of the Lords of Justiciary. "His severity of manner on the bench," says Kaye, "was perhaps more peculiarly suited to the criminal court. Yet as a Judge in civil causes he was eminently honest and upright, and his opinions were invariably guided by the most scrupulous attention to justice. He was universally allowed to be a capital lawyer. In private life, and especially at the convivial board, Lord Hermand was 'the Prince of good fellows and King of old men!' He possessed a rich store of amusing stories, and a vein of humour

peculiar to himself, which never failed to render his company entertaining and much courted, especially by the junior members of his profession. His personal appearance was no less striking, particularly in his later years. Age had rendered his features more attenuated, but the vivacity of his countenance and the expression of his powerful grey eyes defied the insidious hand of time. His dress also partook of the peculiarities of his character, and on the streets of Edinburgh it would have puzzled a stranger to decide whether the lawyer or farmer most predominated in his appearance. His deep 'rig and fur' black and white striped woollen stockings and stout shoes at once denoted that he had other avocations than those of the Parliament House. Like most of the old lawyers, he was an enthusiastic agriculturist, and always spent his vacation among the fields at Hermand, which he improved with much skill and at considerable expense."

"For many years," says Colonel Fergusson in his "Life of Henry Erskine," "one of the most striking in the Parliament House was the tall, thin, and imposing figure of Lord Hermand. Especially on a Saturday, when the rules regarding costume—never very strong among Scotch advocates—were so far relaxed as to admit of riding dress being worn under the long robe, Lord Hermand would appear in Court booted and spurred with a riding coat of splendid hue—peagreen, bright mazarine blue, or 'drummer's yellow,' according to the fashion then in vogue, but always with buckskin breeches and topboots ready to ride off to his country house."

Lord Hermand was very fond of children, and equally strong was his detestation of the opponents of Mr. Pitt. When the coalition Ministry of all the talents fell, he was seen pacing up and down the Mound in Edinburgh in a state of high excitement and repeating with much energy—"They're all out—by the Lord Harry!—they're all out, every mother's son of them." It so happened that there was a menagerie not far away,



and a woman who chanced to be passing with her children, conceiving that the wild beasts had broken loose, rushed into his arms crying, "Oh, save me then, me and my children!" Lord Hermand had such an intense admiration for the *Waverley Novels*, whose author at the time was still the Great Unknown, that when "*Guy Mannering*" came out he was so enamoured of the romance that he took it to the bench with him, perused it, dragged it in to illustrate a point of law, and finally read aloud a passage to his colleagues, Sir Walter Scott himself being seated below at the Clerk's table.

"Of the old picturesque lords," says Cockburn in his "*Circuit Journeys*," "none can hold up their heads against Eskgrove and Hermand. The whole of this volume would not contain one-half of the diverting and now incredible sayings of these two judicial men, who shone in quite different spheres. No outrageousness of originality could ever make Hermand cease to be a warm-hearted gentleman of the olden time." In his "*Journal*," Cockburn gives an interesting reminiscence of a Circuit journey to Inveraray in 1808 when he was Advocate-Depute, and when the Justiciary Judges were Lord Hermand and Lord Cullen. With the former Cockburn tried the line fishing on Loch Fyne. "It was a bright calm day and we paddled about for many hours. I rowed. His lordship brought up some great fishes; but not without many a drive, and many a loud direction, and not a total absence of abuse from the fisherman, who was all deference to my Lord so long as no fish was on the hook; but no sooner did he see that one was in danger of being lost by his Lordship's awkwardness than his whole respect was forgotten, and he hawled and shook his fist, and scolded most energetically, to the learned Judge's vast entertainment."

Lord Hermand lived in the days of conviviality in high places, and he seems to have exemplified in his own person in an exceptional degree the possibility of a pretty free sociality with an abounding capacity for

hard work and clear intellect. In that same page of reminiscences of the Inveraray Circuit, Lord Cockburn tells the following story :—"The night before the two Judges, who were of opposite politics, and no friends, had met (at supper), for the first time for many years. They were cold at first, but at last good cheer soldered them, and by two in the morning (John Richardson, Bell, and I alone being present), they were embracing and vowing eternal friendship, toasting each other's wives, and giving us young ones imitations of the old lawyers. It was an extraordinary scene. But it was not unjudicial in those days. Cullen was in bed all next day and never saw his Circuit Court; but the immortal head of Hermand was clear and cool in the morning by six; and after a short time of business and a long sail he returned to the charge at dinner with a picturesque and cordial exuberance of spirits which the concentrated kindness and gaiety of all Argyllshire could not have equalled."

But undoubtedly the most remarkable story of Lord Hermand is comprised in the following extract from an address that he delivered in the Court of Justiciary when an advocate had pleaded on behalf of the prisoner at the bar, in extenuation of murder, that it had been perpetrated under the influence of intoxicants :—

"We are told that there was no malice, and that the prisoner must have been in liquor. In liquor! Why, then, he was drunk, and yet he murdered the very man who had been drinking with him! They had been carousing the whole night, and yet he stabbed him! After drinking a whole bottle of rum with him! Good God, my Lords, if he will do this when he's drunk, what will he not do when he's sober?"

Lord Hermand, "the last of the old race of Scottish advocates," died in 1827.

When Sir James Fergusson, Lord Kilkerran, died, January 20, 1759, at the age of seventy-one, he was

succeeded by his third son, Adam. Elder than he, John had entered the Army, and had been a young man of high promise, gifted and accomplished. His "benevolent disposition, and the sweetest natural temper," according to the family history, "joined to a life of strict virtue, left the happiest impressions of his character." He died at the age of twenty-two, much lamented.

Sir Adam Fergusson, Bart., lived a busy and a useful life. For two and twenty years, from 1774 to 1796, he was a Member of Parliament, eighteen years for Ayrshire and four for Midlothian. "We feel disposed to confess," says the family historian, "that there never was a Member of the Lower House who displayed a spirit of patriotism less influenced by party." On the death of John, the last Earl of Glencairn, in 1796, he entered a claim to the House of Lords for the titles of Earl of Glencairn and Lord Kilmaurs, as lineally descended from, and heir-general to Alexander, created Earl of Glencairn in 1488, and to Alexander, Earl of Glencairn, who died in 1670, whose eldest daughter, Lady Margaret Cunninghame, was the wife of John, Earl of Lauderdale, and mother of James, Lord Maitland, Sir Adam's grandfather. The judgment of the Lords was "That Sir Adam Fergusson has shown himself to be heir-general of Alexander, Earl of Glencairn, but has not made out the right of such heir to the dignity of Earl of Glencairn." In his Earnest Prayer and Cry Burns describes Sir Adam as "thee, aith-detesting, chaste Kilkerran." His public services and his personal worth were recognised by his having had the honour of LL.D. conferred on him. When he retired from Parliament in 1796 he devoted himself to country pursuits, and carried on energetically the improvement on his estates begun by his father.

In what "The Ayrshire Agriculturist" of 1843 calls "an old and scarce publication," a reprint of the Minutes of Improvement on the estates of Gadgirth, Dumfries House, Drongan, Kilkerran, and Newfield, there is an

interesting narrative contributed by Sir Adam Fergusson of the work he was doing on the family estate in Carrick. It is undated. The minute dealing with Gadgirth bears the date 1777, and that for Drongan 1778, and in all probability that for Kilkerran was written about the same time—a notable period in the development of agriculture in Scotland. Sir Adam opens with a contrast, which is also a reminiscence. “With regard to this part of the country,” he writes, “if you never was in it before, you would no doubt find much in general to find fault with—a great deal of land uncultivated, and the culture of other parts very imperfect. But if you had been here some years ago, and compare the state it was then in with that in which it is now, you cannot fail to have remarked a very great alteration. To me, who remembers this country when there was scarce an enclosure in it, but some few round the gentlemen’s houses, when there was not a pound of grass seed sown in it from one end of it to the other, and when the whole attention of the farmer, and the whole dung of the farm, were applied to a few acres, while the rest was totally neglected, the difference is very striking.” In its natural, uncultivated state, Sir Adam goes on to tell, the ground was covered with large stones, most of them so large that they required to be blasted with gunpowder before they could be carried off. The soil also ran naturally to wood, and the fields had to be cleared of shrubs and bushes. These processes were so expensive that many of the fields cost more than their original price before a plough could be put into the ground. There was one particular field that was so littered with stones that it was hardly possible to conceive how it ever could be worked at all, “yet now there is not a stone upon it so large as your fist.” The soil of Carrick he regarded as less suitable for the growing of corn than of grass; “it will shoot up pasture almost as good without sowing as with it.” The cattle were much the same as the Galloway breed, “mostly hummelled.” As for the sheep, they were not as well

understood as the cattle, and were not so good. Sir Adam had grave doubts whether the English sheep would answer on the hills. "The utmost length that I think we should be safe to go would be to raise our own breed by a mixture with the English; and even that," he adds, "should be done with caution." As for the farmers themselves, there was a remarkable alteration for the better within Sir Adam's experience, both in knowledge and management. When he began to attend to country affairs, many of them had an aversion to have their lands enclosed. "But now," he says, "no farmer such as I would choose to have for a tenant will take a lease unless the lands are enclosed; the consequence of which is that if I live three or four years, every arable farm I have will be enclosed. They are all getting into the practice, more or less, of sowing grass lands, and instead of running out their lands by ploughing them up as soon as they were fit to produce a poor crop of corn, as was the practice formerly, they are now sensible of the importance of having them in good heart; and the distinction of croft and field land, except among some of the poorest sort, is in a manner entirely abolished."

On the death of Sir Adam Fergusson, September 23, 1813, without issue, the title devolved upon his nephew, James Fergusson, the son of Sir Adam's brother Charles, by Anne, daughter of John Fordyce, Esq., of Aiton. Sir James was born October 20, 1765. He married, October 1, 1799, Jean, second daughter of Sir David Dalrymple, Bart., Lord Hailes, by Helen, his wife, daughter of Sir James Fergusson, Bart., Lord Kilkerran, by whom he had one son, Charles Dalrymple, and two daughters. She died in 1803, and the following year Sir James married Henrietta, second daughter of Admiral Viscount Duncan, and by her, who died May 14, 1850, he had nine sons and five daughters. Sir James, who died, April 14, 1838, continued the policy of land improvement begun by his predecessors, and, with Mr. Kennedy, of Dalquharran, did a great deal to embank the Girvan

in the parish of Dailly, so that when the river was in spate, it should not flood the holms along its course. He was a man of high ability, with a nice sense of honour, and of a most affable address. Throughout the whole district he was recognised as of a benevolent and kindly disposition, and as exemplary in every relation of life.

Sir James was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir Charles Dalrymple Fergusson, born 1800, who married, 1829, Helen, daughter of the Right Hon. David Boyle, and by her, who died June 26, 1869, he had surviving issue, four sons and seven daughters. Sir Charles, who died March 18, 1849, was a man of exceptionally fine, all-round character, who occupied a leading place in the public work and in the beneficent and philanthropic life of Ayrshire. It was said of him when he died that "he lived to do good; and to every scheme having for its object the welfare of his fellow-creatures, gave the benefits of his business talents, of his eloquence, and of his wealth." To him, and to Mr. Hamilton of Carcluie, Ayrshire was mainly indebted for the Agricultural Association, which has done so much for agriculture in every department, in the West of Scotland. The County Prisons Board found in him one of the most efficient and laborious of its members. He took a keen interest in education. In Sir Charles's day the rural and more remote parts of the county were not by any means too well supplied with schools, and he set himself to rectify this condition of affairs. Under his fostering care there grew up an Educational Association whose business it was to provide sufficient salaries for the teachers of schools in localities too sparsely populated or too destitute to find the money for themselves. He built schools himself, and was a liberal contributor towards the erection of churches and their subsequent maintenance. An elder in the Parish Church during a highly eventful period in the history of the Church of Scotland, he was recognised as among the most efficient office-bearers the National Zion had during the troubles that accompanied and that followed the Ten Years' Conflict.



In the General Assembly he wielded great influence, not only because of his excellent gifts in public business, and his eloquence, which is said to have reached its highest heights on the floor of the Assembly, but because he was known to be a man who did the duties of the eldership with exemplary faithfulness. In Dailly parish the sick and suffering, the poor and afflicted, were his special care. Piety was, as was said when he died, the regulating principle of his life ; and " Scotland did not contain a better man." " He dwelt among his own people," wrote the late Roderick Lawson, " and served his generation faithfully by the will of God. He built the West Church (Maybole) and Crosshill Church, and supported many local schools besides, while he was eyes to the blind, feet to the lame, and a father to the poor." After his death his tenantry and friends erected a handsome monument to his memory on Kildoon Hill, which is still a conspicuous object over a wide expanse of Carrick.

Of Sir Charles's family, with the exception of Sir James, who succeeded him in the Baronetcy, the best known is Sir Charles Dalrymple, Bart., of New Hailes. Sir Charles has given his country much good and faithful service in Parliament. He was M.P. for Bute from 1868 to 1885, and for Ipswich from 1886 till 1906. At the General Election of 1885, he contested Midlothian against Mr. Gladstone, and was defeated by a majority of 4631. A consistent party man throughout, Sir Charles has entered into the Kilkerran felicity of enjoying the friendship and respect of his opponents ; a gratifying tribute alike to his public worth and his own high personal character. He was created a Junior Lord of the Treasury, 1885-6. On succeeding to the estates of Hailes in East Lothian, and New Hailes in Midlothian, Sir Charles assumed the name and arms of Dalrymple. His wife, who died September 2, 1884, was a daughter of Sir Edward Hunter Blair, fourth Baronet of Blairquhan, and by her he had issue, one son and two daughters. Sir Charles Fergusson's third son is Major John

Adam Fergusson of the Rifle Brigade. Of the daughters, one is the wife of the Right Rev. George Wyndham Kennion, D.D., Bishop of Adelaide, and another the wife of the Rev. David Robertson, M.A., rector of Hartlebury, youngest son of the Hon. Lord Benholme.

The leading facts in the life of the late Baronet are thus succinctly summarised in Burke's "Peerage and Baronetage," 1894 :—

"The Right Hon. Sir James Fergusson, Bart., P.C., G.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., of Kilkerran, M.P. for Ayrshire, 1854-57, and 1859-68 ; Under-Secretary of State for India, 1866 to 1867, and for the Home Department, 1867 ; Governor of South Australia, 1868 to 1872 ; Governor of New Zealand, 1872-1874 ; Governor of Bombay, 1880 to 1885 ; Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1886 to 1891 ; and Postmaster-General, 1891-1892 ; married, first, 9th August, 1859, Lady Edith Christina, second daughter and co-heir of the first Marquis of Dalhousie, and by her (who died 28th October, 1871) has issue : Charles, Lieutenant and Adjutant, Grenadier Guards, born 17th January, 1865 ; James Andrew, Lieutenant R.N. ; Susan Georgina, married 10th November, 1880, to John George Baird, Esq., late 16th Lancers, of Adamton and Muirkirk ; Edith Helen. He married, secondly, 11th March, 1873, Olive, youngest daughter of John Henry Richman, Esq., of Warnbunga, South Australia, and by her (who died 8th January, 1882) had issue : John, born 12th October, 1874, and died the same day ; Alan Walter John, born 16th August, 1878. He married, thirdly, 5th April, 1893, Isabella Elizabeth, widow of Charles Hugh Hoare, Esq., of Morden, Surrey, and daughter of the late Rev. Thos. Twysden, formerly rector of Charlton, Devon."

When that record was drawn up, Sir James was M.P. for North-East Manchester, and he remained the representative of that constituency until the General Election

of 1906. But no mere record can ever suffice to tell what Sir James Fergusson was to the county of Ayr. It is evident from the succession of intellect and of gifts for public work, into which he had entered, that there was every probability from the start that he would make a valuable public servant. The which he did. He began life as a soldier. He saw active service in the Crimea. From the scene of that exhausting war he came home to sit in Parliament as the representative of his county. Electorally, he was a hard man to beat anywhere, for he threw himself into the political battle with great ardour, and he had the gift of clear, lucid expression, and of the convincing speech that is better than mere oratory. He had been well grounded, to begin with, and he built—built steadily and laboriously—upon the foundation. He was endowed with capacity for almost anything—soldiering, electioneering, county work, Church work, estate management, Colonial or Indian governorship, trusteeship, office under the Government. While he was Governor of Bombay he rendered his period of office conspicuous for the benefits he was instrumental in conferring upon the Indian cultivator, the progress of education, and the development of communications by roads and railways. To the famine-stricken he extended remissions of revenue, lowered the percentage of interest of assessment on lands reassessed, and mitigated the harshness of forest conservation. His advocacy of higher instruction is remembered in the "Fergusson College" in Poona. He travelled long distances on horseback, and was highly popular with the native rulers. The characteristics of his career in the East, as in the West and South, were earnestness of purpose and indefatigable energy. He gave to India of his best.

On his death Sir James was succeeded by Sir Charles Fergusson, his eldest son, Major and Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel, Grenadier Guards, D.S.O.

### NOTE BY THE AUTHOR.

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These sketches do not by any means complete the story of the historic families of Ayrshire. There are others—Campbells, Craufurds, Fullertons, Wallaces—whose record will merit reproduction. And besides these there are distinguished men of the shire—Murdoch, the inventor of gas; M'Adam, the road-maker; General Neill, the Landsboroughs, Thomson of Duddingston, and others—whose biographies can never fail to interest. The author has already prepared a series of sketches dealing with these notable families and men, and hopes in due time to issue them in a volume similar to those which he now offers to the public of Ayrshire.

END OF VOLUME II













